

### ***Incident over the Baltic***

On the afternoon of Saturday, April 8, a U.S. Navy Privateer plane, on a flight from Wiesbaden, Germany to Copenhagen, Denmark, disappeared over the Baltic. The plane was unarmed and carried a crew of ten. On Tuesday, April 11, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky announced that an American plane "of the B-29 class" had flown over Latvian soil on that Saturday afternoon, had opened fire on a group of Soviet fighters that had gone up to order it to land, and, after the Soviets had returned the fire, had "turned toward the sea and disappeared." An extensive search by American, British, Swedish and Danish planes and Danish naval vessels turned up only one clue—a life raft found on Saturday, April 15, near the Danish island of Bornholm and twenty-three miles south of the Swedish coast. On April 18 the United States sent a stiff note to Moscow pointing out 1) that by their own admission the Soviets had fired on an American plane; 2) that there was no American plane in the air over the Baltic at the time except the missing Privateer; 3) that the Privateer was unarmed, and was too slow to cope with fighters. The United States rejected the contention that the American flyers had violated their strict orders against flying over Soviet-held territory. The only conclusion the United States could draw, continued the note, was that Soviet flyers had attacked an unarmed American plane over the open sea. It went on to demand an apology, an investigation of the incident by the Soviet Government, the punishment of the Soviet aviators concerned, and proper indemnity for the destruction of American lives and property. Wars have been started in the past for lesser causes. While we hardly expect our Government to make this attack on an unarmed plane a cause for war, we are heartily in accord with its firm stand, and we look to the President and the State Department to use every means to ensure that the Soviets do not get away with the casual murder of American airmen.

### ***Confusion in Indo-China***

The fact that Indo-China will be high on the agenda of the Big Three meeting on May 6 is a fair gauge of the crucial position of France in Southeast Asia. It is reported that full backing of the Indo-China war, presumably by shipments of large-scale arms supplies, will be asked by Foreign Minister Robert Schuman when Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin meet with him in Paris and London. M. Schuman is particularly anxious that both the U.S. and Britain recognize that the hot war in Southeast Asia, like the cold war in Europe, is a joint Western responsibility. Even though Indo-China be eventually united under Bao Dai with a government completely independent of France, the long-drawn-out war will continue to drain French resources for some time to come. Conflicting reports from Indo-China tend to confuse the political and military picture, with Bao Dai, leader of the semi-autonomous, French-sponsored Government in the ascendancy one day and the rival Communist leader, Ho Chi-minh, rallying more of the nationalist-minded populace the next. The French Government has already spent over 600 billion

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francs on the campaign, which is being waged by a French army of 125,000 men. Ho Chi-minh's guerrilla army has proved so elusive that French military observers maintain it would take an army of 500,000 men to do a quick job of cleaning Communist forces out of the Indo-China jungle. The problem facing the Foreign Ministers will be twofold. They cannot afford to give the appearance of supporting colonialism in Southeast Asia. The risk of alienating the Asiatic peoples is too great. On the other hand a Ho Chi-minh victory will be particularly embarrassing to American foreign policy-makers. The only solution is to demand of France, as the price of support, a progressively greater measure of independence for the Government of Bao Dai.

### ***Revolt in Indonesia***

On April 6 a twenty-six-year-old army officer, Captain Andi Abdul Aziz, led a military skirmish in Makassar and brought the infant Republic of the United States of Indonesia to the brink of civil war. Makassar is the capital of East Indonesia, a component State of the Indonesian Federation. The insurrection led by the young captain can best be understood against the background of the merging of States which has taken place in Indonesia since the transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch last year. The Republic of the United States of Indonesia then comprised sixteen constituent States, of which one was the Republic of Indonesia, where the struggle for independence initially broke out on August 17, 1945. Since last December, six of the constituent States have relinquished their autonomy within the larger federation and have merged with the Republic of Indonesia. The rebels led by Captain Aziz are soldiers recently transferred to the Indonesian Army from the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army, a move calculated to unify the nation's armed forces. They joined the East Indonesian State Police in revolt because they feared that the autonomy of East Indonesia was threatened. What Captain Aziz and his rebel forces apparently demand is assurance that East Indonesia will be able to retain its own military force as a mark of the State's sovereignty within the Federation. By April 14 the enterprising Captain had given himself up to the Federal Government. The uprising marks the second time since last February—when a former Dutch officer, Captain Paul P. Westerling, provoked a military disturbance in West Java—that the newest nation of Southeast Asia has been called upon to show it can maintain authority.

### Boycott of Panamanian ships

On April 18 the International Transport Workers Federation, with which are affiliated more than 5 million workers, announced a world-wide boycott of all ships flying the flag of Panama. In no port controlled by the ITWF will these ships be loaded or unloaded. Though this action is drastic, it is completely justified. The Republic of Panama, by permitting foreign shipowners to use its flag practically without supervision, has become the refuge of "businessmen lusting after profits and Communists dedicated to sedition." At the instance of the ITWF, the International Labor Organization recently conducted an investigation of Panamanian shipping. It discovered that of 740 ships only 423 could be traced in Lloyd's Register. Panama's labor code, which governs conditions on the ships, was found to be seriously defective. It provides no regulation of crew accommodations, food on shipboard or hours of work. Furthermore—and this is still more serious—the ITWF charges that the Soviet Government is using the Panamanian flag to operate a quasi-piratical, phantom fleet under the guise of legitimacy. In addition, Communists have infiltrated the crews on the non-Soviet-owned Panamanian ships. "On virtually every ship of Panamanian registry," writes Arnold Beichman in the *New Leader* for April 15, "there is a commissar . . . who runs the crew." (Mr. Beichman's article should be required reading in Washington.) Since Panama has done nothing to clean up the mess, the anti-Stalinist ITWF has no choice except to act on its own. In so doing it is defending the rights of decent seamen everywhere. It is also hitting the Moscow gang where it hurts most.

### Truman vetoes Kerr bill

In the red-hot debate over the Kerr bill—exempting sales of gas by "independent" producers from the rate-fixing authority of the Federal Power Commission—an argument skilfully developed by Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) finally prevailed with President Truman. In returning the bill to Congress without his approval, the President said that the sale of gas destined for interstate commerce is by its very nature monopolistic, and hence requires Government control in the public interest. In the Senate debate, Senator Douglas developed the argument in this way:

Natural gas is basically dissimilar to coal, oil, copper and other raw materials, since all elements in the

industry, from the producers and gatherers through the pipeline companies to the distributors and the ultimate consumers, are bound irretrievably and organically to each other by the pipelines and mains which carry the gas, and which effectively prevent anyone along the way from disengaging himself and getting his supplies elsewhere. If a producer of coal or fuel oil raises his price, a buyer can have trucks or railroads haul his supplies from another producer which charges a lower price. Thus competition is feasible in the case of coal or fuel oil. But gas can be economically transported only through pipelines, and if a gas producer raises his price, the expense of tearing up a pipeline and laying a new one prevents a buyer from taking advantage of a lower price in a different field. The transportation of gas is therefore in its nature monopolistic and not competitive.

The fact that about thirty per cent of the biggest oil companies control eighty per cent of the nation's natural gas very likely helped to persuade the President to accept Senator Douglas' remarks about monopoly. So far as we understand the rapidly growing gas industry, Mr. Truman's decision, though politically difficult, was a sound one.

### Civil-rights delay

How long can the Administration delay action on civil-rights legislation without losing face on its election promises? With President Truman's approval, the Senate Democratic Policy Committee agreed on April 11 to a further postponement of floor tests on the Administration's civil-rights program. It decided to give prior consideration to foreign economic and military assistance. The showdown on civil rights has been long overdue. The legislation was placed on the Senate calendar on October 17 of last year, and was promised first place for the second session, in 1950. The latest postponement brought immediate and sharp Republican charges of bad faith and violated promises, and aroused equally prompt challenges from national Negro and civil-rights organizations. Charles LaFollette, national director of Americans for Democratic Action, contended that this situation would not have arisen if the congressional leadership had not "insisted" upon bringing up the Kerr bill for Federal control of natural gas ahead of "these vital measures." President Truman and Democratic floor leader Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois defended the position of Administration leaders, declaring that urgently necessary Marshall Plan legislation would be endangered by the filibuster which would inevitably accompany a civil-rights debate in the Senate. The President remained confident that civil-rights action must follow as a "logical conclusion." In spite of the President's cheerful assurances, however, it looked as if the reactionary elements in the South would still give the civil-rights issue some pretty rough going. An address made in the Alabama primary contest by Senator Lister Hill, a member of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, was quoted by Republicans as an example of "Democratic hypocrisy." Mr. Hill appeared to be making an open bid for Dixiecrat votes by assuring his hearers that the regular Democrats were really quite harmless when it came to civil-rights legislation. It began to look as if Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana was right when

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on April 13 he taunted the President with "whistling in the dark," and assured his radio audience that there would be no question of any Senate action on Fair Employment Practices legislation this session.

### ... and some road-blocks

The confusion and uncertainty created by this long delay made doubly understandable the alarm expressed by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in his dissent—along with Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black—from the 7-2 decision reached by the Court on April 17, sustaining the present electoral system of county unit votes in the Georgia primaries. Whatever legal justification might be sought for the "hands off" theory behind this decision—Mr. Douglas held it was legally unjustified—in actual fact it "heavily disfranchised," in Mr. Douglas' words, "the urban Negro population." It means, said Mr. Douglas, "the creation by law of favored groups of citizens," and "undermines the advances made by the Supreme Court in other cases" which dealt with the various ruses designed to keep the Negroes from the vote. Still further emphasis was added to this move to put Negro citizens into a permanent position of political inequality by the new electoral law pushed through the South Carolina legislature by the Dixiecrats on April 13, with its restrictive property and literacy qualifications. At a time when the honor and integrity of our country are so badly compromised by events at home, it is surprising to see the otherwise knowledgeable *Christian Science Monitor* coming out with an editorial in defense of the "separate but equal" theory, in its issue of April 12 (quoted approvingly by Senator Clyde M. Hoey of North Carolina in the *Congressional Record* for April 14). As Robert F. Drinan, S.J., pointed out in his discussion of the three civil-rights cases now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court (AM. 3/25, p. 719), the "separate but equal" theory is both wrong in principle and unworkable in action.

### Texas fights for segregation

The U.S. Supreme Court, which must soon decide whether "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes on public carriers satisfy the demands of our Federal Constitution ("The Supreme Court confronts segregation," by Robert F. Drinan, S.J., AM. 3/25, pp. 719-721), will also have to decide a similar question relating to education. Heman Marion Sweatt, a Texas Negro, has challenged the arrangement by which the State of Texas is seeking, through a "separate but equal" university for Negroes, to maintain its system of racial segregation in higher education. Attorney General Price Daniel of the State of Texas has submitted a brief producing many precedents in favor of a decision upholding the power of his State to continue its present policy. The trial court held that the separate, i.e., segregated, facilities for the study of law provided for Negroes in Texas are "substantially equal" to those provided for white students. According to Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* (April 18), the issue of equal facilities was not raised in the appellate court, but only that of the State's authority, which was upheld. Mr. Daniel's brief

argued that the Supreme Court had repeatedly upheld racial segregation where "separate but equal" facilities, in its judgment, satisfied the demands of "equal protection of the laws." This ruling has been made precisely in regard to educational segregation (AM. 12/11/48, p. 252). The Court, according to this brief, should recognize the right of the people of Texas to maintain segregation as necessary to "preserve the public order." Much is made of the fact that public education is a "privilege," not a "right," in the first place.

### ... but can "separate" be "equal"?

The argument that racial segregation is necessary in order to "preserve the public order" will undoubtedly carry weight with the Supreme Court. The question remains, however, whether the "public order" itself does not, in this case, preserve "public injustice." Whether or not it does depends on whether the old tag about facilities being "separate but equal" contains a truth or disguises a falsehood. Let's consider the question of a law school, since that is what is involved in the Sweatt case. Can a separate State law school for Negroes be even "substantially equal" to the school open to whites? Obviously, the best professors will be used in the school for whites. Whether the professors in the school for Negroes are "substantially" inferior is a question of fact. Secondly, what about library facilities? Can the State of Texas prove that the law library of the new university for Negroes set up in Houston in 1947 is not "substantially" inferior to that of the State University? For one thing, the older school would have many valuable books long out of print. The libraries of the best law schools are sometimes "substantially" better than those of other law schools. The Justices should be able to recognize the differences in facilities such as these. On one point, of course, attendance at a segregated law school cannot avoid being "substantially" inferior to attendance at the State University. This is in regard to the opportunity to associate with the law students who will in a few years attain positions of great prominence in the profession of law and in public life in the State of Texas. If Harvard Law School is the avenue to many preferments not equally available to graduates of smaller law schools, the same must be true of the University of Texas School of Law. Possibly these questions do not fall under the terms of the Sweatt case, as appealed. But they are germane, and we cannot see how they can be answered in favor of the "separate but equal" rule.

### Congress stalls on pensions

The fabled mills of the gods grind no more slowly than the machinery of the 81st Congress. Here it is the end of April, and such important pieces of legislation as social security and tax reform are still being debated in committee. The delay in bringing the Social Security Act up to date is especially disconcerting since all groups in our society, regardless of political affiliation, are agreed on the need of revisions. Though there is some difference of opinion on details, no one questions the necessity 1) of expanding the coverage of old-age and survivors in-



surance, and 2) of hiking retirement benefits. As of the moment there are in the country about 11 million persons over sixty-five years of age. Somewhat less than 2 million of them are currently receiving pensions under old-age and survivors insurance, and the average pension for single persons is a beggarly \$26 a month. Of those reaching 65 today, not more than forty per cent are eligible for pensions, the reason being that the system covers only about three out of five employed persons. All this explains why some 3 million oldsters are now the objects of public charity under the joint Federal-State old-age assistance program. Average monthly payments under this program, which must be preceded by a means test, are running at the rate of \$44.50, considerably higher than the pension payments. No wonder old-age and survivors insurance has failed to attain the objective set forth when the system was founded in 1935. Since it has not permitted people to provide decently for their old age through the insurance principle, it has not lessened the need for public-assistance programs in any significant way. Yet, that was the prime purpose of the reform. Congress has had four peacetime years to bring the Social Security Act up to date. So far it has done nothing.

### Government payrolls

One badge of being an American is the habit of looking down upon people who "work for the government." For some reason or other, the Federal payroll is almost always the target of criticism. The latest figures on the number of civilians on public payrolls in the United States call attention to the neglected fact that two-thirds of them are employed by State and local units of government. The figures are those of last October:

Unit of government	Number employed
Federal Government .....	2,047,000
State governments .....	1,037,000
Local governments .....	3,120,000

What departments account for the bulk of *Federal* employees? The Department of Defense employed over 750,000 civilians, though Secretary Johnson has since reduced this number by 135,000. The Post Office, which is considered "politically untouchable," employed over 500,000 workers. The Veterans Administration, where reductions have since been made, had 200,000 on its payrolls. These three agencies accounted for nearly three-fourths of all Federal employees. Of the more than four million *State and local* governments workers, about 900,000 are public-school teachers. Public payrolls could probably be cut at least ten per cent without interfering with efficiency, if the remaining workers did their jobs properly. So long as government jobs are used to keep and build up political support, however, as they always have been used in this country, it will be impossible to introduce into all government agencies the efficiency in personnel practices which is expected in private business. Perhaps the public is considerably to blame because of its low expectations of political appointees, and of its failure to reward, in salaries and prestige, the many government workers who strive to serve the public according to the highest standards of government service.

### We live longer

A child born today has a life expectancy of eighteen years beyond the age that could be promised its grandparents. You can attribute that increase (almost 37 per cent in the last fifty years) to the devoted doctor with his little black bag, to the Public Health Commissions, to laboratory workers perfecting new medicines and therapeutic techniques, to the rise of incomes permitting better nutrition, to effective Food and Drug laws, to Divine Providence, which gave America a healthful climate. (If you are wise you will take all these factors into consideration.) If the child born today is white, its chances of survival to old age are markedly better than if it is colored. Such are the conclusions drawn from the 1948 death rates compiled by the National Office of Vital Statistics of the United States Public Health Service and synopsis in the April 15 *Journal* of the American Medical Association. The average life of the "nonwhite" is practically nine years less than that of a white person—an index, surely, of the economic disadvantages and, more particularly, the lack of adequate medical facilities involved in being a Negro. No immediate explanation is offered for the disparity of figures on the average length of life of men and women. The figures show that the average white woman in the United States lives to be 71 (the nonwhite 62.5) years old. White males averaged 65.5 (nonwhites 58.1) when they died. Is it that the ladies insist on having the last word?

### Dr. Shuster's appointment

In the mind of Hitler, wrote Dr. George N. Shuster when teaching English in Brooklyn in 1934, six years before his designation as President of Hunter College:

Bavaria, Saxony, Baden—what are they but names of charming provinces which belong to the country but exact of the citizen no special reverence? Why speak of the "rights of the Church" when there is a government to decide what rights of what church are compatible with national welfare? As for labor movements and organizations, such things belong to the past.

Today, Bavaria, with its expellee-swollen population of 9,000,000, presents to the Occupation administration not only grave economic and political problems, but a religious question as well, which turns upon the rights of the Church and of all religious believers in the field of education. To the office of State Commissioner of Bavaria, to which he was appointed on April 7, Dr. Shuster brings qualifications well suited to such an administrative headache. He combines lifelong study of Germany and enthusiasm for its culture and its people with a thoroughgoing belief in democracy. He joins wide educational experience to a practical Catholic faith. We congratulate High Commissioner John J. McCloy on his selection.

**CORRECTIONS:** Two inaccuracies slipped into our editorials last week. In "The battle of the files," the 81st Congress, instead of the 80th, was referred to as "Republican." In "Pius XII on redistributing wealth," Italy's 2.1 million unemployed were described as "one-third of the country's working force." This should have read, "one-third of the country's industrial workers."



## WASHINGTON FRONT

Plan No. 12 bids fair to rival Point Four in contemporary history. This Plan, it will be remembered, is one of the twenty-one Plans which the President submitted to Congress on March 13 for the reorganization of the Executive establishment. It would abolish the statutory office of General Counsel in the National Labor Relations Board and transfer its powers back to the Chairman and the Board, a change by which, in the words of Mr. Truman, "unified responsibility is once more established" in the Board. By the Taft-Hartley Act, the General Counsel became a semi-independent official, and much confusion resulted in labor-management relations.

In the other regulatory agencies—for instance, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, all of which have both judicial and administrative powers—the General Counsel's office is an integral part of the agency, under the Chairman. The Labor Board's set-up under Taft-Hartley seems an unjustified exception to this tradition.

By the Reorganization Act of 1949, the twenty-one Plans submitted by the President do not require an affirmative vote in order to become law; but a negative vote by either House of Congress is sufficient to reject any Plan. Simple inaction on any one is acceptance of it. But rejection must be by what has come to be called a "constitutional majority," that is, not a majority of those voting, but of the whole body, voting or not. Thus, it will take forty-nine actual votes in the Senate to reject a Plan. Hence any action coming before either House must be in the form of a resolution to reject any one Plan.

The House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments has reported out such a negative resolution on Plan 12, to give the House a chance to vote on it, but recommended the rejection of the resolution. The parallel Senate Committee also reported out a negative resolution and recommended its adoption.

Organized labor, of course, is in favor of Plan 12. So are large segments of management. Both use the same argument: that confusion has inevitably resulted in the Government's control of collective bargaining. Democrats generally favor the plan; Republicans generally oppose it. The big exception is Senator Irving M. Ives (R., N.Y.), probably the best labor-relations expert in the Senate, who voted for Taft-Hartley at the end. He has said that "this Plan is aimed to correct a very unfortunate condition occasioned by the very poor draftsmanship of the Taft-Hartley Act, which, due to its inadequacy and ambiguity, has caused a great deal of confusion and conflict between the Labor Relations Board and the General Counsel. . . ."

In my opinion a great question of administrative law and of public administration is involved here.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

On April 12, NC News Service announced the appointment of Rt. Rev. Msgr. David F. Cunningham, pastor of St. John the Baptist Church, Syracuse, N. Y., to be Titular Bishop of Lampsacus and Auxiliary to Bishop Walter A. Foery of Syracuse. Bishop-elect Cunningham was born in Walkerville, Montana, on December 3, 1900, and was ordained on June 12, 1926.

► The National Council of Catholic Men (1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.) has published a fifty-cent booklet, *The Religious Question in Spain*, by Richard Pattee. A well-documented study of the position of Protestants in Spain, it is an antidote to the scare-stories that too often appear in the daily press. Mr. Pattee has written many articles for AMERICA on Spain and Latin America, the latest (11/26/49) being "Spain and Portugal and the Holy Year."

► Rev. George H. Dunne, S.J., informs us that the Harvard Law School pamphlet, *The Catholic Church and Politics*, mentioned by AMERICA (4/15, p. 34) as a transcript of his Feb. 10 debate with Paul Blanshard, is based on a very imperfect stenotype version. Harvard has agreed to issue a new edition corrected from sound recordings of the debate. Those who have received the first edition should write Harvard Law School for the corrected version.

► The Catholic Press Association of the United States will hold its 1950 national convention at the Sheraton Hotel, Rochester, N. Y., May 24-27. For details write Very Rev. John S. Randall, 35 Scio St., Rochester 4, N. Y.

► Speaking April 12 in St. Paul, Minn., at the 24th annual convention of the American Catholic Philosophical Association—whose theme was "The Natural Law and International Relations"—Rev. Ernest R. Kilzer, O.S.B., said:

Eventually there will have to be a really functioning world government. We are already moving in that direction, though much too slowly. The people of the world will no more be able to achieve their common welfare without closer political union than we Americans could have done so if we had remained thirteen independent colonies.

Fr. Kilzer, retiring president of the Association, is chairman of the philosophy department of St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.

► In Baker, Ore., on April 12, thirteen days after the death of his Coadjutor, the late Bishop Leo F. Fahey, died Most Rev. Joseph Francis McGrath, 79, for 31 years Bishop of Baker City, Ore. . . . In Antigonish, N. S., on April 13 died Archbishop James Morrison, 88, dean of the Canadian Hierarchy, Bishop of Antigonish since 1912. . . . In Mount Vernon, N. Y., on April 15 died Joseph M. O'Rourke, 75, former advertising manager of the America Press, for 35 years connected with that Press. R.I.P.

C. K.

## Insurance for the jobless

Every year for the past five years President Truman has exhorted the Congress to undertake a major repair job on the State-Federal unemployment compensation system. With the GOP-dominated 80th Congress, which was concerned with stopping the reformist trend, Mr. Truman got nowhere at all. So far he hasn't had any more success with the 81st Congress, despite the fact that in 1949 as many as 7 million workers qualified for unemployment compensation at one time or another.

In view of this discouraging record, the President's most recent appeal for action on jobless insurance was somewhat surprising. Either he is hopeful that many legislators, worried by persisting unemployment in these prosperous times, have changed their minds, or he is intent on building up a campaign issue for the fall elections. At any rate, on April 6 he asked the Congress to extend the coverage of the unemployment system, to approve a hike in the amount of benefits paid, and to extend the time during which the unemployed receive benefits. House majority leader John W. McCormack promptly introduced a bill embodying these reforms.

**Coverage.** Under present Federal law the employees of a firm which hires fewer than eight men are outside the unemployment insurance system. So are 1,700,000 employees of the Federal Government, 500,000 workers paid mostly on a commission basis, and 200,000 workers in industrial jobs related to agriculture. The McCormack bill would bring these workers—about 6 million all told—into the system. The bill would also liberalize the eligibility of covered workers to receive benefits. At the moment a worker in Rhode Island becomes eligible for benefits if he earns \$100 a year. In Washington he has to earn \$600. The other States fall somewhere between these extremes. In this respect, however, the proposed law makes only the most modest changes.

**Amount of benefit.** The McCormack bill sets the weekly minimum benefit at one-half the weekly wage, up to a maximum of \$30. To meet that standard about one-third of the States would have to change their laws, since maximum weekly benefits for single workers now vary from \$15 to \$27. Other changes would be required to conform with the bill's liberalized standard for dependents. Only eleven States now make additional payments to unemployed with dependents. The new bill provides that a jobless worker with one dependent would receive sixty per cent of his wage up to a maximum of \$36 a week. The percentage rises, and so does the ceiling, with the number of dependents.

**Duration of benefits.** Only one State, New York, now pays benefits for as long as twenty-six weeks. The McCormack bill makes this the standard for the country.

President Truman estimated that the cost of this improved program, had it been in effect last year, would have amounted to \$850 million. It would have come to 2.5 per cent of payrolls instead of the present actual cost of 2.2 per cent. To provide the additional funds the bill raises the amount of wages taxed from \$3,000 per worker to \$4,800.

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Against extending the coverage of the system to an additional 6 million workers we do not see any good argument. Those opposed to nationalizing unemployment insurance will hesitate, however, to accept Federal standards on minimum benefits and duration of payment. We also hesitate, even though we believe the recommendations of the President to be desirable and necessary. Nevertheless, unless the States show soon a greater sense of responsibility toward their jobless, we shall not hesitate much longer.

### Lattimore airs his opinions

On Sunday April 16, three weeks after the spotlight of senatorial investigation had first singled him out, Owen Lattimore again made the front page. On the previous evening he had addressed the members of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on American Far Eastern policy. His speech was filled with implications of a dubious nature.

Mr. Lattimore told the members of the Academy that Communist China should be represented on the Security Council of the United Nations. He implied that the United States was effectively blocking the admission of the Chinese Reds. The members of the organization who wish to do so, said Lattimore, should be allowed to "vote to unseat the old Chinese delegation." "Everybody knows," he added, "our attitude is decidedly hostile."

As a matter of fact, several months ago the United States clearly expressed its policy on Communist China in relation to its possible representation in the UN when, granted our hostility, we stated that we would abide by a majority decision of the Security Council and not exercise our right to the veto. Either Mr. Lattimore was woefully ignorant of U.S. intentions in regard to the admission of Communist China or it was his deliberate purpose to put his own Government in a wrong light.

The advice, as it came from Lattimore, was based on a false assumption. In urging the United States to "allow" the Security Council to seat the Chinese Communists, he implied that, up to the present, we have not so "allowed" it. In further describing our attitude as "hostile," he implied that the present impasse in the UN is the fault of the United States. To keep the record straight, we must recall that the work of the United Nations has been hampered for the last four months because of a Soviet boycott of no less than seventeen different UN bodies—a blackmail technique designed to force the admission of the Chinese Communists to the organization. Whatever Mr. Lattimore's intentions, he thoroughly succeeded in beclouding the issue of Chinese representation when he spoke in Philadelphia.

Mr. Lattimore is also of the opinion that the Chinese Nationalist Government on Formosa should be cut completely adrift. Our continued support, he argues, focuses "the nationalist feeling of China sharply against the United States." Does Lattimore mean that the nationalist aspirations of China would be realized under the Communist Government, provided we stopped giving aid to Formosa? The assumption betrays Mr. Lattimore's fuzzy thinking on the subject of Russia and the economic stranglehold the Soviet has acquired in North China, and more recently in Sinkiang.

But Mr. Lattimore's thinking has always been fuzzy on the subject of Soviet Russia. His constant devotion to a pet theory of "Politics of Attraction," in which Russia looms as a respectable and progressive factor in Asia with an intense power of attraction for the Asiatic peoples, has dulled his comprehension of Russian imperialism. That the people of China have been drawn into the orbit of Soviet Russia simply because they have been "attracted" by a promise of strategic security and economic prosperity does not rhyme with the fact of the Communist military conquest of China. Yet this theory has been the basis of Lattimore's explanation of the success of Soviet expansion at least since 1945, when he wrote *Solution in Asia*. The same theory underlies his naive assumption that Chinese nationalism is finding its fullest fruition under the aegis of a Communist government.

It is rather late for Congress to begin weighing Owen Lattimore's influence on our China policy. The more Lattimore airs his opinions, however, the sooner the State Department may realize the irreparable damage caused by listening to advisers whose thinking is not really in line with national policy.

## Germany—is neutrality the answer?

The unification of Germany is becoming more and more Headache Number One in the European political scene. Proposals for free elections in the whole of Germany (cf. AM. 4/8/50, p. 8; 4/15/50, p. 32) appear more chimerical upon every re-examination. The Bonn Government, while professing that it will never be reconciled to a Germany without Berlin and Eastern Germany, is openly in favor of unity with Western Europe, though still somewhat coy about the terms of such unity. Soviet control in Eastern Germany grows more stringent, and signs of cleavage multiply at the very moment when it is becoming alarmingly evident that all Germany must be reunited if Europe—and the world—is ever to find peace.

In the face of this impasse, the suggestion is being made that the solution lies in the "neutralization" of the whole of Germany. Walter Lippmann, for example, though he regrets the word, is in favor of the basic idea. Up until 1947, he points out (New York *Herald Tribune*, April 17), U.S. policy toward Germany was one of demilitarization and disarmament, or "neutralization." Despite the fact that the London *Economist*, whose view

he assesses, thinks this is now the "unorthodox" view on the solution of the German problem, Mr. Lippmann believes that the future of Europe hangs on the establishment of Germany as a buffer state (with Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Yugoslavia and Greece joined to form a belt) between the giants of the East and the West. He bases this proposal on the premise that Germany is *not* a Western nation, nor an Eastern one, but rather Middle European. It ought not, therefore, be tugged either to East or West, but be left to find its normal level—that of keeping the giants separated, and giving the world a respite from East-West tensions.

This is an enticing prospect and has much to recommend it to the deliberations of the Western Powers' Ministers when they meet in May. But it is open to the objections the London *Economist* (April 8, pp. 753ff.) levels against it. How will the neutrality be established? By negotiation with the Russians? There is no sign that they will abandon their police state in the Eastern Zone. Even if they withdraw their forces (to the Polish boundary, while Western forces withdraw to—where?), they will leave behind a militant "People's Party" which could be reduced to real impotence only by free elections. If negotiations are impossible, then the *whole* of Germany will never be neutralized.

Mr. Lippmann believes that Russia simply cannot block an ultimate national revival of Germany. That may be true, but diplomats do have to deal with present realities rather than with ultimate goals. Mr. Lippmann fears that any present union of Western Germany with the West will be only a wedding of *part* of Germany with *part* of the West. That, too, is unfortunately true. But—and Mr. Lippmann seems to admit it—it would seem the only possible immediate step. He believes that the Bonn Government, working from a strong bastion in the West, can "infiltrate" into the Eastern Zone and win over the whole of Germany.

But at present, despite its phenomenal industrial recovery and the fair stability of its Government, Bonn is not a notably fit instrument for the unification of Germany. It still needs strength. Strength will accrue to it when it is part of the West, and included (however difficult the decisions on German rearming may be) in the Western military defense system.

The ultimate role of Germany as head of the buffer states between the great antagonistic systems may indeed be the solution, but to play that role all of Germany must first *be* a state. It is hard to see how that can possibly come about in the foreseeable future. It cannot come about with Germany split into East and West. It will not come about through negotiations with the Russians. If it is to come about at all it must be through the free zones of Germany which are actually strong enough to serve as a magnet for the rest of the country—though how even such an attraction can loosen the Soviet tentacles is difficult to predict. The part of Germany that can so exercise power is Bonn Germany. But Bonn cannot so operate unless it enters the one system in which its energies can be utilized. That system is Western Europe.



## Persecution of Protestants in Colombia

Last March 19, Miss Frances V. G. Hitchcock, American Presbyterian missionary in Colombia, found her chapel near the town of Armero raided and devastated by "four national police." The incident is described as the last in a series of alleged acts of persecution of Protestants in Colombia's rural area. Mr. Daniel M. Pattison, Treasurer-elect of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., lists twelve other instances, some of them multiple in nature, in a report made public on April 15. The same list and the accusations of religious persecution had been sent by him on April 10 "to members of the State Department and all U. S. Senators."

Three of Mr. Pattison's incidents, on study, show no clear evidence of persecution. The nine charges that remain are more than enough to justify Protestant concern. If the facts are as stated, we join him in deploring their occurrence.

We read with regret, however, Mr. Pattison's oversimple imputations that Colombia's Government and the Catholic Church are to blame for these outbursts. Mr. Pattison has just returned from Colombia, where normal procedure in government recently broke down because Liberals and Conservatives, the two traditional political parties, came to regard each other's point of view as utterly irreconcilable (cf. AM. 11/26/49, p. 216). Mr. Pattison unconsciously reflects the impassioned background in his charges.

Colombia's out-of-power Liberals, and not just its Protestants, are suffering individual acts of violence there today. These Liberals are a predominantly Catholic group with a free-thinking element within their ranks, and an extreme, Communistically-inclined left wing. It is Mr. Pattison himself who clearly "identifies" Colombia's 30,000 Protestants (less than one-third of one per cent of the nation's population) with the Liberal Party. Some of these Protestants have probably suffered acts of unreasoning persecution at the hands of individuals because they are Protestant. But they are suffering much more as Liberals, because of the regrettable, hard-to-control present political strife of the country.

Armero itself, where Miss Hitchcock serves, illustrates very well the raw tempers, the spontaneous, indiscriminate, partisan nature of much of this strife. Two years ago Armero's Liberals, in the Communistically-inspired riots that broke out on the occasion of the Bogotá Inter-American meeting, thrust Father Pedro María Ramírez, the Catholic pastor, from his rectory. To the shouts of *vivas* for the Liberal Party, they slew him with a machete. They dragged his naked corpse through the streets.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Pattison and the Presbyterian Board will re-examine the "facts" they have made public. Actions they tend to look upon as official are not official on the part of either the Colombian Government or the Catholic Church. They are, rather, bitter individual incidents in the partisan strife that Colombia's politicians, and to a large extent her divided Liberals, had earlier let loose on an unfortunate people.

## Sir Basil's "free" state

When Sir Basil Brooke, Premier of Northern Ireland, stepped from a plane at New York's Idlewild airport on April 6, he observed a line of pickets protesting against his Government and the partition of Ireland. With a tolerant glance in their direction, he said: "As in my country, this country is quite free and the people are free to speak as they like." A look at the record will bring out the full whimsicality of this remark.

The Northern Government was set up by the British Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Within a year after its creation, it declared a state of emergency and passed a Special Powers Act. The "emergency" has now lasted twenty-eight years. As to the nature of the Special Powers, let us hear Griffin Barry writing in the *Nation* (New York) for August 13, 1949:

A person detained under these regulations [made pursuant to the Special Powers Act] is deprived of protections that have hedged the liberty of the subject in Britain for ages. He may be held indefinitely without being charged and without trial. He is allowed no visitors and no messages. He has no access to legal advice. A curious statute deals with the examination of "witnesses" by a resident magistrate. . . . A "witness" may not be accompanied to court by a legal adviser or friend and is specifically not excused from answering questions on the ground that "an answer may incriminate or tend to incriminate himself." Refusal to answer is punishable by penal servitude up to fourteen years.

A commission sent to Northern Ireland by the British National Council for Civil Liberties in 1935 reported:

In the considered opinion of the Commission the operation of the Special Powers Acts is contrary to the fundamental principles of democratic government, in that it imperils the rights and freedoms of the law-abiding citizens.

On August 26 the Northern Government withdrew forty-one regulations issued under the Special Powers Act. It was found that they contravened several of the eleven basic human rights proposed for discussion at the Council of Europe, then meeting at Strasbourg. *But the Special Powers Act remains.*

The excuse for keeping this Act is the recurring "threat of violence" on the part of the anti-partition minority. There has been some violence in the past week or two and the Special Powers have again been invoked. But, as Mr. Barry points out in his *Nation* article, since the Northern Government by gerrymandering and a steady, continuous policy of discrimination against political opponents has rendered useless the processes of democracy as means of peaceful change, the idea of violence occurs readily to the less patient members of the minority.

The British are fond of saying that when the two parts of Ireland come to an agreement, they will not stand in the way. But they continue to support the Northern Government and to ignore the fact that its flagrant bigotry blocks the way to any reconciliation. Is this a part of the "simple and honorable purposes" (to quote Mr. Churchill) for which so much British—and Irish—blood was shed in World War II?

# The Choolokian case: background

Edward Duff

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD of Hamportzoom Cholokian? There is a "National Committee for the Rights of the Cholokian Family," composed of the most prominent personalities in American Protestantism, that thinks you should be familiar with the name. In a pamphlet, *The Case of the Cholokian Family*, published by the Committee, the importance of the little Armenian shoe-polisher is thus described:

A new chapter in the history of the struggle for religious liberty is being written today around the person of a humble Armenian shoemaker named Hamportzoom Cholokian and his efforts to regain the custody of his three children, detained by two Roman Catholic institutions in New York.

The *Christian Century*, non-denominational Protestant weekly, in a two-page editorial on March 29, thus described the legal issues resulting from Cholokian's determination to take his children back to Soviet Armenia with him:

The Choolokian<sup>1</sup> case does not hinge on any specific facts about him and his family. It hinges on the question as to what kind of foul tactics American agencies of charity and justice are going to use for the dual purpose of supporting Roman Catholic proselytism and showing hatred of communism.

Twenty-one American judges, including those on the United States Supreme Court (up to now free from attack as agents of the Vatican), have unanimously declared that it is *precisely* the facts about Hamportzoom Choolokian that constitute the case.

## THE BOGEY OF "CATHOLIC POWER"

The Choolokian case has another interest however. It illustrates the readiness of certain Protestants to be gulled by Soviet designs. An anxiety neurosis, called by them "Catholic Power," combined with a visceral hatred of the Church, makes many Protestant leaders useful stooges for the Communist shell game of confusing the issues before the American people. We shall see how this worked out in the Choolokian case. But first let's look at the facts—which do not seem to matter to the *Christian Century* (nor did the *Christian Century* evaluations matter much in American courts).

The facts begin with an entry—dated January 19, 1942—in the records of New York City's Department of Welfare. The Intake Interview on the History Sheet of case number 1170486 (subsequently entered by Choolokian's counsel as an exhibit in the legal record) begins: "Mr. Choolokian, a man of small stature, age about 50,

*The Choolokian case has become a cause célèbre. Its legal and moral issues are simple: the obligation of public officials to obey the law. Because the case has been exploited to attack the Church, AMERICA is publishing three articles to clarify the issues. The present article, by Father Duff of our Staff, sets forth the background of the case. Articles on the legal and propaganda angles will appear in early issues.*

Roman Catholic and of Armenian birth, was referred to us by the Bellevue Psychopathic Clinic." Hamportzoom Choolokian was in trouble. Trouble seemed largely to be the shoe-polisher's lot in life.

Mr. Choolokian had locked up all the kitchen cutlery in his disorderly flat and made his way to the Welfare Department to explain that his month-old baby could not be taken home. Against the advice of the Bellevue Hospital doctor, he had signed his wife's release, and now she was "telling the children that they will go to the electric chair, that she will turn on the gas, she will die." A field investigator discovered the Choolokian home a "shambles." The family, consisting of five children (in addition to the infant), had been on Home Relief since January 25, 1932.

## SAGA OF TROUBLE

In broken English, since he "cannot read or write in any language," the thin-faced little Armenian father told his story. Emigrating to America in 1913, he settled in Boston. In 1925 he went to Russia and married Ashgen Sohum. He returned alone to New York City, his wife joining him there three years later.

As the children came—all born U.S. citizens—his luck deteriorated and his health weakened. The records showed that the plight of the Choolokians had demanded the assistance of the following social agencies over the years: the Baby Health Center, the Henry Street Nurse Service, Emergency Relief Service, The New York Diet Kitchen Association, the New York Foundling Hospital, the Catholic Protectors, the Madison Square Church House. WPA jobs proved too burdensome for the father, who had, so the record showed, severe migraine headaches, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, rupture and hernia, and arthritis of the lower cervical vertebra. In February, 1939 a notation showed that the mother of this unfortunate family was "becoming neurotic."

Early in 1937 four of the children had been placed for a month in Catholic institutions, as the City law directed, by the Department of Welfare. The Choolokians had described themselves as Catholics; the mother was ill and the father "destitute." New York City law prescribes that the children of parents unable to care for them, even with Home Relief, must be placed in institutions of the parents' religion.

Now in January, 1942 the unemployed Armenian sometime shoe-polisher was trying to cope with his five children—described as "running wild"—and to care for his insane wife, when Miss McCutcheon, the social worker from the Department of Welfare, visited the home to talk about baby Alice, still in Bellevue Hospital. "The

<sup>1</sup> Hamportzoom Cholokian's name got into the legal record as Hamportzoom Choolokian, the form used in this and the following article.—Ed.

child has not as yet been baptized," the social worker wrote in her report, "but Mr. and Mrs. C. are both Catholic and wish the child baptized in the Roman Catholic faith."

On February 9, 1942 Mrs. Choolokian was sent to Kings Park Hospital, a State mental asylum. The diagnosis was "dementia praecox catatonic"; the prognosis was poor. Even with housekeeping service supplied by the Department of Welfare, the anxious Armenian father was "absolutely beaten and completely disheartened over the problem of taking care of his children and the home while his wife was away." He asked that the children be taken off his hands. On March 8, 1942 he therefore signed the commitment papers turning the five children over to the Department of Welfare to be placed out for care.

#### A HOME FOR THE CHILDREN

The Department of Welfare's search for a home for the Choolokian children was governed by the prescriptions of the New York State Welfare Law, Section 383:

Whenever a child is committed to any agency, association, corporation, institution or society, other than an institution supported and controlled by the State or a subdivision thereof, such commitment shall be made, when practicable, to an authorized agency under the control of persons of the same religious faith as that of the child.

It would be illegal, therefore, for a Catholic institution under New York State supervision to accept the permanent care of any except Catholic children.

The Choolokian infant had been transferred from Bellevue Hospital to the New York Foundling Hospital, a Catholic institution. Failing to discover the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator—where the children had been baptized—listed in the *Official Catholic Directory*, the Director of the Foundling Home advised the Department of Welfare to place Alice with a Protestant agency. The Department of Welfare broke the news to the father on March 17, 1942. The History Sheet records that

he stated very emphatically that he did not wish his children placed as Protestants; that he was a Catholic and, regardless of whether he believed in the Pope or not, all his children must be placed in Catholic homes. He added that he would be willing to have all his children rebaptized in the Roman Catholic faith and was pleased to know we had asked his opinion before making the placement.

And so it came about that Hampportzoon Choolokian, at the suggestion of the Department of Welfare, signed an affidavit on March 17, 1942 that he wanted his children placed through a Catholic agency. The affidavit satisfied the legal concern of the New York Foundling Hospital, which ultimately placed Alice in a Catholic foster home. Failing to find a common foster home for the older children—Suzanna, aged 11; Anthony, 10; Anna, 8; George, 6; and Albert, 5—the Department committed them to the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin on Staten Island.

In mid-April, 1942 the Foundling Hospital reopened the question of the Choolokian children's religion with the Department of Welfare. Though the father had consented

to have the youngest child baptized a Catholic, the Catholic authorities learned that the other children had all been baptized in the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church and had attended the Madison Avenue Baptist Church Sunday School (the Armenians rented that church once a week for services). The Foundling Hospital felt, therefore, that all the children must be placed in an institution of their own faith. When this decision was made known to the father, as the History Sheet records, he protested that

he considers himself one of the Catholic faith and desires to have his children remain in a Catholic institution. The father said: "I do not want my children in a Protestant institution" and added, "I am glad you placed them in a Catholic institution."

A new personality enters the picture briefly the following month—the Rev. Ferringer, a minister of the Protestant evangelical Chapel of the Incarnation. The Rev. Ferringer telephoned the City Department of Welfare on June 29, 1942 to explain that he had talked to Choolokian, who

"now wants his children to remain in the Armenian Orthodox Faith."

Visiting the Department on July 1, the unhappy Armenian asked to have the children transferred to an Orthodox institution. It was patiently explained to him that there are no child-care institutions of that faith in New York City, that he had insisted to the extent of making an affidavit on March 17, 1942 (two months previously) that



he wanted his children under Catholic auspices, that the Department had suggested that his children be placed (to quote the History Sheet)

in a Protestant institution, but that because of his protest they had been placed at the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, a Roman Catholic institution.

Father repeated that he is not a Protestant, does not want his children in an institution of that faith but does not want them in a Roman Catholic institution either.

Poor Choolokian. He has brought to light an odd paradox in New York City's Public Welfare facilities. The City has no public child-caring institutions that could have conceivably settled his problem at this stage of his vacillating judgments. The care of homeless children has been left to institutions of formal religious inspiration. In the New York City area, corresponding to the proportionate needs of various religious groups, these child-caring institutions are almost exclusively under Catholic or Jewish auspices. Stranger still, the New York State Welfare Law insists that each dependent child be put in the custody of someone of the same faith as the child's. The paradox arises from the fact that in the field of education, where religion is equally important, New York City has,



of course, established nonsectarian schooling on an official basis.

When Choolokian notified the Department of Welfare that he now wanted his children "to remain in the Armenian Orthodox faith," the Department, not having any Orthodox institution to put them in, told him to see his priest, explain his situation and make up his mind where he wanted the children cared for among the available institutions. The Catholic institutions were alerted to Choolokian's change of mind. They were not surprised. *Sensing the father's vacillation, they had not received the children into the Catholic Church.*

#### MORE COMPLICATIONS

There is no evidence that Choolokian ever saw his priest: he confessed that "he did not know his name as he seldom attends his church for religious services." The Rev. Ferringer was no longer at the Chapel of the Incarnation. In any case, the Department of Welfare—making the decision seemingly on their own, lest they be accused of favoring Catholics—endeavored to find a Protestant institution to take six children.

In May, 1942 Hampportzoon Choolokian insisted that he wanted his children neither in Protestant nor Catholic institutions. On February 5, 1943, on the Department's suggestion that if he didn't want a Catholic institution he must intend a Protestant one, the father signed the required affidavit, delegating the Department to find custody for the children under Protestant auspices. The Department tried, among other places, the Five Points Home, but without success.

Another year went by. On March 28, 1944 Sister Therese Carmel, Admitting Secretary of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, wrote to Mr. C. Tropp, an investigator of the Department of Welfare, asking for a reply to a written query on the religious affiliation of the Choolokian children. Sister suggested "they should be transferred elsewhere without further delay" (as the law demanded) if they were not to be considered Catholics. In April, the History Sheet reports, the five Choolokian children at the Mission were asking why they couldn't receive Holy Communion; the sisters were asking the father please to decide; the Department of Welfare was trying fruitlessly for the fourteenth month to find a Protestant institution for the children. Visiting the Department of Welfare on April 18, 1944 (as the History Sheet reports) Choolokian

became very aggravated and said he will not consent to have children transferred from M.I.V. [Mission of the Immaculate Virgin]. He asked to sign an affidavit giving his consent to have the children baptized Roman Catholics.

When the social worker suggested that he discuss his determination with his priest, he remonstrated that

this is a free country where one can make one's own decision regarding his church, therefore he doesn't feel it necessary to consult with anyone other than his children.

Hampportzoon Choolokian's notions of religion, his sense of the importance of sectarian affiliation, were always

pretty vague. On a witness stand, in the big public moment of his life, he summed up his attitude this way:

Q. When were you in Armenia last? A. From my idea, we have one Jesus, where I believe my Jesus, any church is for me a church. I believe my God, my Jesus. I try to be a good Christian to my kids.

Q. What Church do you go to in Armenia? A. Armenia Church.

Q. Catholic Church? A. Don't make difference, for me is church, any church I can go. I don't say anything about the church.

Such were the literal answers given to questions asked the Armenian shoe-polisher in Room 519 of the New York County Court House on November 1, 1947.

It was by Hampportzoon Choolokian's express direction, therefore, certified by an affidavit he signed at the Department of Welfare offices on October 19, 1944 that his children were conditionally baptized and ordered reared under Catholic auspices.

#### MORAL QUESTIONS

With the prosperity of the war years Choolokian's prospects improved. He was averaging \$40 a week at this time as a shoe-polisher and endeavoring, fitfully, to make a weekly contribution of \$10 toward the support of his children. His lonesomeness for his insane wife he partially remedied by acquiring "girl friends"—one of them a married woman—and he talked about seeing a lawyer for a divorce. In the summer of 1946 he began to think about bringing the older children home to live with him in the three rooms he had taken on the top floor of an East 32nd Street tenement. In considering the father's request, the Department of Welfare was mindful of the prescription of Section 383 of the City's welfare law:

The parent of a child remanded or committed to an authorized agency shall not be entitled to the custody thereof, except upon consent of the court, public board, commission or official responsible for the commitment of such child, or in pursuance of an order of a court or a judicial officer of competent jurisdiction, determining that the interest of such child will be promoted thereby and that *such parent is fit, competent and able to duly maintain, support and educate such child.*

It was the clear legal obligation of the Department of Welfare, therefore, to ascertain if the welfare of the children would be furthered by returning them to their father. The Department was bound, moreover, to determine whether the father was "fit" to maintain, support and educate them.

Being satisfied with the father's income, the housing accommodations and the arrangements for schooling, the Department ordered the Mission to discharge the three older Choolokian children, Susan, Anthony and Anna, in time for the new school year. On receiving these instructions, the mission naturally discharged them. The Department's seemingly adequate social plan proved over-sanguine. Susie ran away from home the following March when she heard her father talking of taking them back to Soviet Armenia. Anthony was running wild—playing cards in doorways and hitching rides on trolley cars—and requiring the father's presence at the local police station.

Then, all of a sudden, wholly new factors entered the case. On October 24, 1947 Hampartoon Chookolian visited the Department of Welfare without an appointment and asked for his other three children. He had a letter from the Committee to Aid the Repatriation of Armenians, indicating that arrangements had been completed for the Chookolian family to go to Soviet Armenia.

## Seminary life isn't boring

Joseph M. Miller

IN AN ERA WHEN NOTHING IS CERTAIN but death and Walter Winchell, it is gratifying to realize now and again that there are still some few truths unaffected by the high cost of living or the atomic-fission problems. It comes as a relief to hear small children unflinchingly maintain that eggs do not grow on trees, that the sum of two and two is not five, that the sun has not suddenly assumed blue, green, or yellow and purple stripes. Some facts seem to be unassailable, despite time, tide and the weather.

There is one fact especially that has maintained its status quo, despite all efforts to change it. Whenever one of that mysterious breed, the seminarians of Holy Mother Church, ventures forth into the wild and wicked world, abandoning the shelter of his cloistered home, he is sure to find some naive soul who will gape unashamedly at his "sombre black garb" and will cluck a few sympathetic clucks as a prelude to musing: "So you are a seminarian? Golly, that must be tiring! Stiff schedule, nothing but work and study and prayer. I guess you just have to be holy enough to do it. Me? That monotonous routine would bore me stiff." And thus the young ecclesiastical student is presented with another opportunity to gain merit in heaven. All that is required is that he smile sweetly and control his temper. He tries to remember that the poor benighted creature who says these things has never learned the facts of life, has never opened his eyes to daylight, and should not be treated too harshly.

But all this misplaced sympathy has a result. If you are a seminarian and you hear it often enough, you grow tired of humoring people along in their misapprehensions. You want to tell them the truth. You read in your Dogma book that some heresies are particularly bad, earning the opprobrious epithets, "rash, temerarious, false, offensive to pious ears, and not to be admitted," and you understand that his commiseration with ill-treated seminarians is one of those heresies. You know that you are not bored, or tired of your work. You resent the gross misinterpretation of your life by benevolent patrons, and you wish to correct the ideas that seem so unprintably prevalent.

The poor, pathetic shoe-polisher had become a cork on the tide of history, a counter in the world-wide Soviet propaganda warfare. Before we go into these highly interesting developments, however, we must turn to the equally interesting legal developments in the case. Robert F. Drinan, S.J., a trained lawyer, will unfold them from the official records in an article next week.

*In the issue of October 8, 1949, AMERICA published a review of The Chosen, a story of young men in a seminary, by Rev. E. J. Edwards. Feeling that the book gave a rather jaundiced view of seminary life, Rev. Joseph M. Miller, himself a seminarian, and deacon at St. Meinrad Seminary, St. Meinrad, Indiana, decided to tell the world just how satisfying seminary life really is. Here is his verdict.*

Finally you decide that there is only one way to solve the problem. Bring out the loud-speakers and the soap-boxes. Turn off the dirges and the blues. Let Billy Rose stop crying over lost dogs and make Louella Parsons quit gushing over peroxidized glamour girls while one who knows the inside story writes a new sensational exposé of what makes seminarians tick.

So they say, "you've got to be holy enough to do it." You laugh up the sleeve of your cassock, grit your teeth, and start in on that. You know that seminarians are aiming at sanctity, as they are more than proud to proclaim; your destination is heaven and you intend to reach that state by the shortest possible route, avoiding all unnecessary detours through such unpleasant spots as purgatory. You know that the priesthood demands other Christs, cast in the mold of their Divine Master.

Granted that all these things are true, yet the fact somehow recalls itself to your mind that though you have spent ten calendar years and eleven school years in the seminary, you have never seen one of your fellow-students afflicted with uncontrollable ecstasies. To your knowledge, no one has even been granted permanent sight of his guardian angel. As a matter of fact, even the little things—gifts for miracle-working, direct inspiration, the power of healing—these have been noticeably lacking from your colleagues. And as for the gift of tongues—you smile to yourself. With the work you have done over Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, you have often wished that you had that gift.

The sad fact remains that you have always been forced to a more or less constant study schedule. Then, too, you do not have to be convinced that sanctity is indispensable for the life you intend to lead, but you are familiar with your present state of soul, which demands annual retreats of five days, weekly confession, daily examination of conscience (and you always manage to find something without much effort), and innumerable mortifications of the inner man. You are perfectly frank with yourself and admit that both you and all the others in the seminary have great difficulty in conquering even the most infinitesimal of your manifold and variegated faults. You are

rather certain that the truth of the matter is not that you "are holy enough to do it," but that by doing it enough, you hope, through the Grace of God, to become holy.

Then there are some people who make the marvelous deduction that seminary life must be tiring. That is like saying that green must be a different color from red, or that pig's feet do not come from horses' legs. In other words, it is a matter of belaboring the obvious. Who, you wonder, among the sons of men, could make a career of arising at 5:10 a.m. and going on until 10:00 p.m. without succumbing somewhat to that tired feeling which cannot be removed by Postum?

Admittedly you keep the pace from causing early death by the ten-minute cat-naps you manage to sneak in during free time, but it is only natural that you should be a wee bit fagged by the time you crawl into bed at night. And someone like you, who is on a lesser level than a genius, finds the study mentally fatiguing, too.

You smile as you recall the nights which found you unable to look at a textbook without the urge to turn cave-man or politician or something else that requires no education. But you know deep down inside yourself that the physical and mental strain are not all, that you never become tired in the sense that your well-wishers would like to believe. There is no terrifically bitter grind to be faced unflinchingly, with a "stiff-upper-lip, every-cloud-has-a-silver-lining, it's-always-darkest-before-the-dawn" attitude. No inevitable and frightening monotony, no deadening routine, no appalling sameness of life characterizes the seminary. There could be none for you or for any seminarian, because you realize that every dawn sees the sun rise on a day which is appearing for the first and last time. You know that whatever you do, whatever you learn during the hours to follow, you have never done or learned before and you will never have the chance to do or to learn it again. That is the thought that keeps you from stagnating in a year full of days externally indistinguishable from one another.

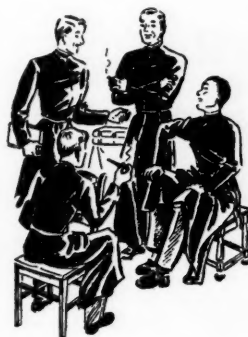
Seminary life boring? You are forced to laugh at the thought. It is no more palling on you than the sunrise you see daily through the chapel window, no more monotonous than the periodic letter from home, no more unpleasantly repetitious than the daily re-enactment of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. After all, how could you be bored through association with unusual people?

And seminarians are unusual people. You know that. They are living proof that, *Lehr* to the contrary notwithstanding, monkeys are second-rate. But you will not lay the mistake to Mr. *Lehr's* account, since he most probably never saw seminarians letting their hair down on a free afternoon. And then, too, he probably doesn't realize what variety exists in a seminary. You tick them off on your fingers: musicians, barbers, athletes, poets, clowns, magicians, actors, bee-keepers, bridge-fiends, farmers, mechanical wizards and others of similar uniqueness. Where but in a seminary would you find ex-ministers, former professors, a couple of executives-turned-students, and even reformed lawyers? You remember the Broadway tap-dancer who was several years ahead of

you, the Broadway stage-designer who handled several seminary plays, the man whose wife was dead and whose daughter was in the convent. Then there was the fellow who had made All-State in high-school basketball before he entered the seminary. Who could be bored in this company?

You think of the seminary stamp-collectors, no more normal than any other stamp-collectors; you recall the Monday-morning quarterbacks, just as sure of their strategy as any other Monday-morning quarterbacks. You look at the Texans who rave on and on for hours about the glory of the Lone Star State, just like any other Texans. Your Kansans, and Kentuckians, your Californians and New Yorkers, they are the same as any other Kentuckians or Kansans, Californians or New Yorkers. Yet nary a drop of blood has been shed in mortal conflict yet. You see Negroes and Italians and Irish and French and Jews and English and Slovaks; you see a native Costa Rican, an Irishman direct from the "Ould Sod," and a Frenchman who played in the Rochester Symphony Orchestra and who has an unintelligible accent.

Then you sit back and roar at the idea of boredom under the circumstances. "Impossible," is your reaction. "I could never be bored."



Some there are who would hold that the prayer life of the seminary is boring. You try to understand how such an idea could arise. The beauty of the liturgy of Holy Mother Church is hardly conducive to boredom. One who is learning the subtle grandeur of the

Mass and Office during the various seasons of the year, one who daily hears the official music of the Church in all its pristine simplicity, one who becomes familiar with the unpretentious splendor of the Psalms and prayers of the breviary will never become bored with prayer.

You recall the finesse and polish with which Holy Week and Easter ceremonies are carried out, the magnificence of a Pontifical Mass, the tremendous impact of an ordination, the full realization of the meaning of Benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament. You know that your soul has been left with impressions that can never be destroyed. You have understood that prayer is so powerful that no one can ever truly appreciate it.

Then you think about the priests who have come back to visit the seminary. They are ordained and working for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. There is much that they remember. They remember the professors whose lives were spent in preparing men to fulfill a sacred mission; the arguments they had about controversies in philosophy and theology, and they remember that the arguments were many and hard-fought, but never bitter. They remember the bowling tournaments and the tennis matches; they remember the retreats and sermons



that gave them courage to strive yet harder for their goal; they remember the enjoyment with which they lit a cigarette after two or three hours of classes and they remember the consolations they derived from their daily visits to Him, the Friend in the Chapel. They remember how class after class went forth into the vineyard, and how they envied each class until they suddenly realized that their class was next. They remember the seminary where they were never bored. They know that seminarians do not become bored; they have no time for boredom, since they are so busy thanking God for the chance that He has given them to be in the seminary.

Then, after you think over all these facts, you wonder again how people can be so very wrong. You know that the facts are true, for you are a seminarian. You are, in fact, almost finished with your seminary course, and have seen the seminary through many years. So you put a piece of paper in your typewriter and begin to tell the truth. Perhaps somewhere, somehow, people will read what you write and come to a more clear understanding of what you live and love in the seminary. Perhaps they will know that none of you in the seminary

is bored, none of you has been bored, none of you will be bored. They will come to understand that no one who wishes to serve God to the best of his ability can be bored in that service. It would indeed be a contradiction in terms. You will recall to their minds that though they may read newspaper stories about wealthy young heiresses or successful alcoholics whose rising time is somewhere after high noon and whose retiring time is in the wee small hours, those stories will not be like the stories they would read about seminarians, if stories about seminarians were published. For wealthy heiresses and successful alcoholics often commit suicide because life is hard, but no newspaper ever reported finding a seminarian dangling lifeless from his closet door. Getting out of bed at 5:10 a.m. and staying out of it until 10 p.m. may be conducive to soporific tendencies during class periods, but it is not conducive to self-destruction. You know that a seminarian may become very, very tired, but he never becomes tired of it all. He finds a state of restless unsettled discontent incompatible with love for God. And he does love God—of that there is no doubt. That is precisely why he is in the seminary. You know it.

## Are our families growing larger?

**Clement S. Mihanovich**

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST ESTIMATE of the United States Public Health Service, the birth rate for 1949 in this country was 24.1 per 1,000 population. This is practically the same as the corresponding rate which was reported for 1948: 24.2.

The U. S. Public Health Service has also issued its final totals on registered live births for 1948—3,535,068, a figure which is only 4 per cent below the record high birth rate of 3,699,940 for 1947. The birth rate for 1948 was 35 per cent higher than the rate for 1940. That was certainly an appreciable increase, even though the many marriages during the war years may account for a large proportion of it.

On the basis of the above figures, can we assume that the size of the American family is increasing? Some, having drawn courage from the data, have concluded that the old-time large family is coming back. For a more objectively determined answer to this interesting question, however, let us look at the facts.

The table opposite was compiled by the U. S. Public Health Service. The birth order refers only to the number of children born alive. Still-births are excluded. The figures in the table represent birth rates by race and order of birth (first, second, third, and so on) per 1,000 female population aged 15 to 44 in each of the years 1940 through 1947.

*In 1948 the birth rate of the United States was 35 per cent larger than in 1940. Does this mean that family limitation is on the way out? Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich, Director of the Department of Sociology at St. Louis University and well-known authority on population problems, presents a breakdown of recent birth statistics as the basis of his answer.*

### BIRTH RATES BY RACE AND BIRTH ORDER, 1940-1947

RACE AND BIRTH ORDER	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940
White ..	109.6	97.9	81.0	83.4	88.7	85.6	76.5	72.3

### BIRTH RATES BY RACE AND BIRTH ORDER, 1940-1947

First .....	46.5	38.0	27.6	29.1	33.5	36.2	30.7	27.5
Second ....	29.8	27.3	22.1	22.9	24.6	21.9	19.6	18.6
Third .....	14.8	13.7	12.5	12.9	12.6	10.9	10.1	9.8
Fourth .....	7.1	7.0	6.6	6.7	6.5	5.8	5.6	5.5
Fifth .....	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.3	3.3
Sixth and								
Seventh ..	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.6	3.7
Eighth and								
over .....	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.1
Nonwhite	114.2	101.3	92.4	93.1	93.8	89.7	86.8	83.1
First .....	34.3	26.7	23.9	24.2	25.8	25.8	24.5	23.2
Second ....	23.1	20.1	17.1	17.6	18.4	17.4	16.7	15.7
Third .....	15.0	13.6	12.3	12.9	12.6	12.1	11.7	11.2
Fourth .....	10.4	9.9	9.4	9.5	9.2	8.7	8.4	8.2
Fifth .....	7.5	7.3	7.1	7.0	6.7	6.4	6.3	6.1
Sixth and								
Seventh ..	9.7	9.4	9.2	9.1	8.7	8.2	8.2	8.0
Eighth and								
over .....	9.6	9.4	9.5	9.1	8.9	8.5	8.5	8.4

The first point of interest in the table is the record high of first-order births in 1947. This was primarily the result of the record marriage rate in 1946. Thus, between 1946 and 1947, first births per 1,000 white women aged 15 to 44 increased by 22.4 per cent. On the other hand, the nonwhite rise in first births was 28.5 per cent greater.

Numerically speaking, of the 3,699,940 births in 1947, 1,467,639 represented first births; 945,230 were second births; 483,153 were third births; 244,332 were fourth births; 137,303 were fifth births; 84,164 were sixth births; 55,264 were seventh births; and 37,142 were eighth births. Consequently, of the total number of children born to white women in 1947, two-thirds were first or second births. About one-half of the nonwhite births in 1947 were first or second births.

The next point to remember is that the rise in the rate of white first births during the postwar period brought the 1947 rate of first-order births to a level 70 per cent above the 1940 rate. In the case of second and third birth-order rates for 1947, they represented, respectively, a

level of 50 and 30 per cent higher than the corresponding 1940 figures.

On the other hand, the 1947 rate for fourth-order births was about 33 per cent below the comparable rates for 1920 and 1921; and rates in higher birth orders (five and above) were from one-half to one-third of those of 1920 and 1921.

From the preceding compact statistics, it may be deduced:

1. That the number of one-, two- and three-child families has increased in the U. S. since 1940.

2. That the rapid increase in the birth rate in the United States from 1940 through 1947 did not indicate or represent any definite trend toward the larger families which characterized our American way of life thirty or more years ago.

Therefore, despite the recent increases in the national birth rate, the American home is still representative of the small and moderate-size family of three or fewer children.

## Cooperatives and tax exemption

Walter A. Lynch

SHOULD COOPERATIVES pay income taxes? This controversial question is posed for the thoughtful consideration of the readers of AMERICA. It is a vexing problem, and one to which this writer will not, in this article, attempt to give the answer. The affirmative and negative sides of the question were recently argued by more than two score of witnesses before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives.

There are some who believe the question is too hot a political potato for the Committee to handle in an election year. Others are of the opinion that no really comprehensive study and consideration of the problem by the Committee was possible in the two days of public hearings. It is a fact that while witnesses were presenting their carefully prepared statements, there were at times only two or three members of the Committee in attendance. This was due neither to a lack of interest on the part of the members nor to any discourtesy toward the witnesses, but was caused solely by the fact that the days set for the hearings were unfortunately the two days when the opponents of a Fair Employment Practices law were using every parliamentary device to block that legislation. Quorum calls, teller votes and yea-and-nay votes were so numerous that the Committee members worked in relays in their endeavor to hear witnesses.

Nevertheless, a group composed of well-organized businessmen seems determined to get action in this session. Its spokesmen point to the existing tax treatment of cooperatives as a loophole in the tax structure and of

*Business corporations must pay huge taxes; cooperatives are allowed tax-free earnings for expansion, and are driving private concerns to the wall, say businessmen. Should co-ops, too, pay income taxes? Hon. Walter A. Lynch (D., N.Y.), a member of the U. S. House Ways and Means Committee, weighs the pros and cons in a review of co-op development.*

cooperatives as a revenue source which neither the President nor Secretary of the Treasury Snyder mentioned in the tax program submitted to the Congress.

### HISTORY OF OUR CO-OPS

In the consideration of the question it might be well to take a look at the role of the cooperative in the economic history of our country. It is beyond question that the profit system is the bone and sinew of the American way of life. It has made America great by opening up vast opportunity for the enterprise of individuals.

As a result of the profit system, the country has developed a revenue structure based principally upon the taxation of income. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the revenues for the general operation of the Government, national defense and the commitments the Government has made abroad toward peace and world security come from the taxes imposed on the net incomes of individuals and corporations.

Our economy and tax structure are lashed firmly to the principle of private enterprise for profit. Yet it has been the policy of the Government to encourage the establishment of cooperatives which claim to be nonprofit in character. An apparent conflict that could, perhaps, be safely ignored in 1940, when income taxes amounted to only \$2 billion, may require critical reappraisal in 1950, when taxes on corporate and individual profits are estimated at nearly \$30 billion.

The cooperative business organization in American

history dates back to 1752, when Benjamin Franklin joined with others in setting up a mutual fire-insurance society. Farmer cooperatives, however, originated as a natural outgrowth of the profit system, for as farmers began to grow more cash crops they also began to try out cooperative methods of selling to get better prices.

In 1820, livestock raisers in Ohio made joint shipments to a terminal factory. Nearly a hundred years ago a cooperative cheese factory and a creamery were established in New York State and a cooperative grain elevator was started in Wisconsin.

By the turn of the century mutual fire-insurance companies, irrigation associations, cooperative creameries, grain elevators and fruit marketing associations were commonplace. Between 1900 and 1920 the number of farm marketing co-ops almost doubled, as farmers learned to organize regional cooperative associations of local cooperatives, such as the Dairymen's League Cooperative Federation of New York and the Farmers' Union Livestock Commission Associations of Omaha and other Midwestern cities.

When farm prices broke in 1920 and 1921, farmers' marketing cooperatives were utilized to control the supply and movement to market of various farm commodities, including wheat, cotton and tobacco.

The importance of this new function of the cooperative was recognized by the Federal Government in the Capper-Volstead Act, which resolved any doubt about the exemption of co-ops from the provisions of the anti-trust laws. Moreover, their exemption from Federal income taxes was broadened. At the same time there was a flood of State statutes on the organization of cooperatives.

With the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933, farm cooperatives returned to the problem of better merchandising methods and left the job of controlling agricultural production to the Government.

Between 1920 and 1930, when most of this legislation was enacted, the estimated total farmer co-op business ranged from \$1.3 billion to \$2.5 billion, and the number of farmers' marketing and purchasing associations grew from approximately 7,000 to nearly 12,000. Today the number of such farmer associations is closer to 10,000, but the estimated volume of business is \$8.6 billion.

Businessmen engaged in purchase, storage and processing of farm products, and dealers in feed, farm implements and hardware, fertilizer and other farm necessities complain bitterly about competition from the farmer cooperatives. They point out that in 1930 the Federal corporate tax rate was only 12 per cent, in comparison with the 38-per-cent rate today. (While smaller corporations pay a tax of 21 to 25 per cent on an income of less than \$25,000, they must pay 53 per cent on earnings between \$25,000 and \$50,000.)

Businessmen contend that Federal tax exemption is the explanation for the increase in the volume of cooperative business and for the rapid rise in co-op net worth. They charge that the tax savings provide capital funds for the expansion of co-op activities—for the purchase of refrigeration plants for the storage of fruits, creameries for the bottling of milk and cream and proc-

essing of butter and cheese, gins and warehouses for cotton, oil wells, cracking plants, pipe lines and filling stations supplying fuel oil and gasoline to the farmers, and for many other ventures.

The members and supporters of cooperatives answer that cooperatives should pay no Federal income tax because they are founded and operated to do business without making any profit. The doubtful value of the Federal tax exemption to farmer cooperatives is underscored by the fact that only about sixty per cent of them take the trouble to qualify for the exemption. They embrace the view, expressed by Secretary of Agriculture Brannan, that "the existing tax status of farmer cooperatives is an aid to agriculture and is fully justified in the public interest."

Both sides admit that the heart of the issue is the practice of the Bureau of Internal Revenue of allowing all cooperatives—city consumer co-ops as well as farmer co-ops—to subtract from their total income the amount they pay out in patronage refunds, and to compute their tax on the remainder. In the case of consumers' and purchasing cooperatives, the patronage refunds are treated as an overcharge returned to customers. In the case of marketing cooperatives, the patronage refund is considered as additional cost of goods sold. Co-op supporters argue that a commercial business obligated to return its profit to customers could also deduct such refunds in figuring out its taxable income.

Competing businessmen retort that the patronage refund ruling is abused by the issuance of "scrip" dividend notes payable at some indefinite time in the future. They say that, since farmers are not actually refunded the cash, the cooperative has a tax-free source of retained earnings for investment and expansion that is driving its competitors to the wall. And, they add, "although these patronage dividends are supposed to be taxable income to the farmer in the year received, we'll bet that very few patronage refunds ever show up on a Form 1040-F."

The patience and wisdom of a Solomon may be required to resolve the conflicting views. Meanwhile, however, individual businessmen are crying: "Don't look to me for higher taxes. I am going out of business. I cannot compete with the tax-free cooperative."

"Nor to us," says the president of a farm-implement company. "We are turning cooperative. We will work for a salary and not for profit."

Of course, a dividend credit to eliminate the double taxation of corporate income would solve the problem; but this is so expensive to the revenues as to make the enactment of such remedial legislation in the immediate future extremely doubtful. Meanwhile, if modification of the existing tax treatment of cooperatives should be enacted, perhaps the next barefoot step along this thorny tax-exempt path would be an analysis of the Federal tax status of mutual savings banks and savings loan associations.

Interest is mounting in the need of an over-all revision of our tax structure. Perhaps the question of whether cooperatives should pay income taxes should not be decided apart from a more general overhauling of sources of public revenue.



# Orestes Brownson on the "Scarlet Letter"

C. Carroll Hollis

THE CENTENARY OF THE PUBLICATION of *The Scarlet Letter* will occasion many public revaluations of America's foremost novel. In that revaluation, students will find Randall Stewart's new biography (*Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Yale.) extremely valuable. They may, however, be led by Prof. Stewart's rather condescending treatment of Orestes Brownson to ignore the only significant Catholic and specifically moral criticism yet made. Brownson is only mentioned to be dismissed as the leader of the contemporaneous attack on "the gross immorality of the book," but the attack is never presented.

This seems unjust, particularly in the light of Prof. Stewart's own admission that "the novel's position on the moral question might, with some justification, be called equivocal." Brownson believed that moral criticism was justified to the very extent of the novel's equivocation on the moral question. And it can be shown further that out of Brownson's specific moral criticism of *The Scarlet Letter*, and only out of such a critical approach, certain evidence is defined which must clearly be taken into account in the esthetic assessment of the work.

Brownson would agree with Austin Warren that the novel presents "in all its dialectical complexity—dramatically, not in the abstract—the problem of sin," that the "titular sin, adultery, lies outside the novel, is in effect a postulate," and that Hawthorne's "concern is not with the event but with its psychological and moral consequences." Yet, because the reader's sympathy is intentionally aroused for Hester and Dimmesdale, through whom the psychological and moral consequences of sin are traced, great demands are placed upon Hawthorne's rectitude, both as citizen and artist. Yet here Brownson finds Hawthorne fails—fails just "in those portions where the author really means to speak like a Christian, and therefore we are obliged to condemn it, where we acquit him of all un-Christian intention."

Brownson's first criticism of *The Scarlet Letter* is of its misinterpretation of love and its relation to human conduct. He sees the novel as representative of that "modern doctrine that represents the affections as fatal, and wholly withdrawn from voluntary control, and then allows us to plead them in justification of neglect of duty and breach of the most positive precepts of both the natural and revealed law." Christian doctrine "does not forbid love, but treats it as an affection of the rational soul, and as such controllable by reason and will, subject to the precepts of law, or the demands of duty." The popular writers of the day either do not understand or, more likely, consciously reject this kind of love. For it they substitute "a fancy, as our old writers called it, a caprice, an affection of the sensitive soul, usually a disease."

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

Brownson is here distinguishing between the morally acceptable love of the rational soul and the lower or inferior love of the sensitive soul. Hester and Dimmesdale are involved in this lower love, but it is idealized, glamorized, or otherwise exalted by Hawthorne and so provides, as Hester says, "a consecration of its own" that purports to remove adultery from the realm of sin.

The love of Hester and Dimmesdale so viewed by the author blurs the psychological reaction of the reader. Through the false idealization of love, their adultery is no longer seen as sinful, yet both characters are punished for it. What, then, will be the reader's reaction? Compassion for fellow sinners, or pity for wronged innocence? Brownson is equally forceful on this point. "Compassion for the fallen is a duty which we all owe in consideration of our own failings, and especially in consideration of the infinite mercy our God has manifested to his erring and sinful children."

So much, indeed, is our Christian duty in charity. "But however binding may be this duty, we are never to forget that sin is sin, and that it is pardonable only through the great mercy of God, on condition of sincere repentance of the sinner." Yet, "in the present case neither of the guilty parties repents of the sin." Rather, "they hug their illicit love; they cherish their sin; and after the lapse of seven years are ready, and actually agree, to depart into a foreign country." We are, then, urged to sympathize with and even vicariously to participate in actions in the novel which in life we would or should repudiate.

Brownson's whole interpretation of love, in relation to *The Scarlet Letter* and to fiction in general, I consider of major significance. I find particularly valuable and even prophetic the insight he provides into the psychological limitations of those books of which *Wuthering Heights* is, perhaps, a more outstanding example than *The Scarlet Letter*. Mature readers, I think, have always had an uneasy and undefined awareness of something basically false in such books without knowing how to object or what to object to. Brownson states it for me.

Such books arouse the reader's sympathy, pity, compassion, in the same elementary sense in which we say literature arouses emotion. But in these books the emotion aroused does violence to reason. Literature does and should arouse emotion, to be sure, but it also orders emotion; that is, it directs emotion into rational channels. Such a notion of the function of literature is at the heart of Aristotle's assertion of the value of literature to social

health and has been central to correct thinking about literature ever since.

To speak simply, Brownson asks only that the novelist should not—nor should he permit us as readers to—react to the imaginary situation in the novel in a way contrary to what should be our reaction to the same situation in life. What the novelist does is to provide us with different and vital evidence, which the limitations of everyday observation preclude, so that our reaction has a better foundation than it would have in life.

The second objection follows from the first. There is no question that both characters in *The Scarlet Letter* suffer, and suffer from within, but why? What is the cause of the suffering? To Brownson, their "suffering springs not from remorse, from the consciousness of having offended God, but mainly from the feeling, especially on the part of the minister, that they have failed to maintain the integrity of their character." Now this, certainly, seems misdirected, but note what Brownson is getting at. "They have lowered themselves in their own estimation, and cannot longer hold up their heads in society as honest people. It is not their conscience that is wounded, but their pride." This pride involves both of the leading characters.

He cannot bear to think that he wears a disguise, that he cannot be the open, frank, stainless character he had from his youth aspired to be, and she, that she is driven from society, lives a solitary outcast, and has nothing to console her but her fidelity to her paramour.

The only conclusion that Brownson can draw is that there is "nothing Christian, nothing really moral here. The very pride itself is a sin; and pride is often a greater sin than that which it restrains us from committing."

This comment cuts through a tremendous amount of circulatory criticism of this famous book. Everyone remembers Hawthorne's constant preoccupation with the sin of pride. Certainly his novels, the allegorical short stories, and even the *Notebooks* are ample evidence that he saw pride—or what he thought was pride—as the motive of a great amount of human activity. He seems in fact to be more aware of pride and its effects in human life than any other novelist of the period, even Melville. Consequently, it comes as a surprise to see Brownson talking to Hawthorne as to a boy in Sunday School. "Mr. Hawthorne seems never to have learned that pride is not only sin, but the root of all sin, and that humility is not only virtue but the root of all virtue." Hester and Dimmesdale suffer, but for the wrong reasons, for

no genuine contrition or repentance ever springs from pride, and the sorrow for sin because it mortifies our pride, or lessens us in our own eyes, is nothing but the effect of pride. All true remorse, all genuine repentance, springs from humility, and is sorrow for having offended God, not sorrow for having offended ourselves.

I do not know, nor can I surmise at the moment, the possible reaction of non-Catholic critics to a quotation of this sort. To them or to Catholics with little knowledge of Christian ascetical tradition it may not reveal the psychological inadequacies of the novel that Brownson felt. He was convinced, and I find in the novel no evidence to the contrary, that Hawthorne intended the reader to

feel sorry for Hester and Dimmesdale because they had paid and more than paid for their alleged sin by their suffering. Hawthorne felt, and intends his readers to feel, that they are pardoned and forgiven on all levels except that of Puritan society, perhaps symbolized in its violent extreme by Chillingworth. Brownson thinks, on the other hand, that at the end of the book Hester and Dimmesdale are deeper in sin than at the beginning.

I have no desire to impugn the widely accepted critiques of this novel, which more or less parallel Hawthorne's intentions as summarized above, but I do think Brownson has a case. He says, for instance, that Dimmesdale, when finally "driven by his agony, goes so far as to throw off the mask of hypocrisy, and openly confess his crime, he shows no sign of repentance, or that he regarded his deed as criminal." Now James Russell Lowell in a letter of June 12, 1860, says that Hawthorne had told him that his original plan was to have Dimmesdale "confess himself to a Catholic priest." Lowell was sorry he didn't carry out this plan with "its fine dramatic possibilities," which is a revealing indication of Lowell's critical myopia.

In any case, in the novel as we have it, it seems obvious that Hawthorne meant Dimmesdale's public acknowledgment of his part in the sin to have the same effect on Dimmesdale's spiritual state as the first-planned confession would have had. In either case, says Brownson: "Mr. Hawthorne mistakes the character of confession. He does well to recognize and insist upon its necessity; but he is wrong in supposing that its office is simply to disburden the mind by communicating its secrets to another, to restore the sinner to his self-complacency, and to relieve him from the charge of cowardice and hypocrisy." To Brownson, Dimmesdale's psychological need for confession can have no human significance except on the grounds that confession "is a duty we owe to God, and a means, not of restoring us to our self-complacency, but of restoring us to the favor of God."

This is not the place, nor am I qualified, to enlarge further upon the spiritual states unintentionally and somewhat ironically reversed by Hawthorne—the healthy joy of the pardoned sinner and the morbid self-torture of injured pride. Rather I wish to recommend that we make a re-examination of Hawthorne in the light of Brownson's distinction.

I say this, recognizing that Brownson's criticism of *The Scarlet Letter* has not in any measurable way affected the sale of the book. It is one of the unavoidable accidents of literary history that we often know how we are supposed to react to a book before we know the book itself. For many works no harm need, and indeed much profit may, follow; yet too much praise may embarrass the honest reader. His reaction to the book may not be as complete as he would wish and, in deference to the book's reputation, he may be led to consider something at fault in himself rather than in the book.

Orestes Brownson's comments may provide today's reader with a salutary check on his responses to a traditional American classic.

(C. Carroll Hollis is an assistant professor of English at the University of Detroit.)

## "Science" tries too much

### WORLDS IN COLLISION

By Immanuel Velikovsky. Macmillan. 401p. \$4.50

Here is an unusual conglomeration of scientific fact and fiction, interspersed with extraordinarily numerous references to ancient and modern writings which range all the way from obscure legends of folklore to the latest treatise on the physical sciences. As such, it is difficult to verify the source material and hence difficult to appraise the book with certainty.

The author seems to have as objective a scientific explanation of several events in the Old Testament and their coordination with many myths and legends which he cites. He appears to be attempting to collate many fables and stories contained in folklore from all parts of the world and subsequently to explain them in terms of more than one tremendous disaster caused by the near approach of wandering heavenly bodies. Thus, for example, the destruction of Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem is facily explained in terms of a cloud of poison gas and flame in the tail of a comet through which the earth passed that night. Again, the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea was made possible by another heavenly visitor which attracted the waters toward it in such a fashion that a dry path was opened up through which Moses could lead his people.

There are a number of apparent errors in the scientific explanations offered for various events. For example, the passage of a large comet very near the earth is reported to have raised tremendous tides upon the earth. This could undoubtedly happen because of gravitational attraction between the two bodies. Then followed a massive electrical discharge between them, a gigantic lightning flash, and the tides immediately fell back to normal. No such discharge between the earth and any heavenly body has even been observed. Such a discharge, even if it did occur, would have no effect upon the tides, which are not electrical phenomena.

To cite another instance: the rain of manna from heaven to the Jews in the desert is neatly accounted for by the spontaneous combination of carbon and hydrogen contained in the tail of a comet that happened to be passing by. This same hydrogen and carbon also combined to form tremendous quantities of naphtha and oil, thus partially accounting for our present-day oil deposits. Neither of these fortuitous combinations seems chemically feasible without assistance from some *deus ex machina*. I shall refer only in passing to the question of how any human be-

ings could have survived the tremendous disasters that are said to have occurred so frequently. These at times entirely blotted out the sun for years, we are told, or resulted in mountainous high tides, world-wide conflagrations and pestilence, and the rising and falling of whole continents. No answers for these and other similar puzzles are offered by the medically-trained doctor.

The actual method of presentation of material and its development into a series of self-supporting hypotheses is open to serious criticism. The usual technique is a reference to several tales which are interpreted to have some element in common. Any discrepancies in time are explained away on the basis of errors in retelling and the absence of written records and accurate observations. When one of these shaky theories has been evolved it is then referred to as an established and well-known fact and frequently used to buttress another theory evolved from further legends. The next being thus established, both are in turn used to substantiate a subsequent reconstruction—and so on indefinitely. The whole edifice is, as a result, built on a somewhat unstable foundation.

In spite of its numerous discrepancies, *Worlds in Collision* presents some interesting facts and fancies, and it affords an extensive compilation of ancient writings and tales about the origin of the world. Dr. Velikovsky's labored weaving together of quasi-scientific theories with many stories from folklore may give this book prominence in some lists of science fiction.

LOUIS W. TORDELLA

(Dr. Tordella is Scientific Research Administrator in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations.)

### Medieval mother of kings

#### ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE AND THE FOUR KINGS

By Amy Kelly. Harvard University Press. 431p. \$5

Not since Francis Marion Crawford's half-length portrait of Eleanor of Aquitaine appeared in *Via Crucis* just over half a century ago has this unfathomable Mona Lisa of the Middle Ages come so close to life as in the pages of Miss Kelly's work. In the Crawford tale of the Second Crusade, the Eleanor of fiction was a pendulum-like personality swinging between the passionate petulance of the tennis-court scene and her prayer and "great pure longing" in the Sepulchre of Jerusalem. Here in the cold documentation of history she is not greatly different.

For some reason, Miss Kelly somewhat affects the manner of a novelist. "Louis the Sixth of France, Louis the Fat, lay sick in his hunting lodge at Béthizy..."

## BOOKS

So the book begins, and you will look in vain for more than three dates in the first fifteen pages. Then, again, the first six chapter heads—"The Rich Dower," "O Paris!" "Via Crucis," "Fear of the Greeks," "Antioch the Glorious," and "Jerusalem"—inevitably recall the tale as Crawford told it. Even on the last page of this biography, after more than fifty years of vicissitudinous history have been added to the episode of the Crusade, two epitaphs, one by the chronicler Matthew Paris and the other by the nuns of Fontevault, reveal the same duality:

In this year the noble Queen Eleanor, a woman of admirable beauty and intelligence, died in Fontevault. . . . She enhanced the grandeur of her birth by the honesty of her life, the purity of her morals, the flower of her virtues.

As a girl of fifteen, the daughter of Guillaume, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine (where troubadours and courtly love were breaking into vogue), married King Louis VII, the most genuinely pious of all the Capetians, apart from Saint Louis. That was in 1137. Ten years later, the fiery zeal of St. Bernard of Clairvaux at Vézelay sent the chivalry of France on the Second Crusade. Among its other disasters was the break-up of Eleanor's marriage.

However, St. Bernard had long been worried by a canonical impediment to the union, and in 1152 the Archbishop of Sens officially settled the matter. Eight weeks later, a "bold, stocky, deep-chested, high-hearted, rufous young duke came riding his stallion over the bridge of Moutierneuf to her high place, his falcon on his wrist and a sprig of plantagenesta in his bonnet." On May 18, Eleanor found herself the wife of the future Henry II of England, great-grandson of William the Conqueror, builder of the Angevin Empire which stretched from Normandy to Gascony and from Brittany to Auvergne, Lord of Ireland by virtue of Strongbow's conquests, forger of a strong, centralized, monarchical administration in England, and murderer of St. Thomas à Becket. She thus became the mother of "the young king" mentioned by Bertrand de Born in the ninth *bolgia* of the eighth circle of Dante's *Inferno*, of Richard Coeur de Lion, of Geoffrey the father of Shakespeare's ill-fated Prince Arthur, and of John Lackland who signed the Magna Carta in 1215.

Miss Kelly's handling of specifically Catholic matters is on the whole satisfactory. However, the identification



(e.g., pp. 31, 59, 74) of *accidia*, "one of the seven deadly sins," with the blasé boredom of modern sophistication is an unpardonable piece of superficiality. Being "bored with bishops and with abbés" was not a mortal sin calling for "absolution" in the age of Eleanor of Aquitaine. One commits the sin of *accidia* in one's relations to God precisely when one is having the gayest time with one's neighbors. And need even French abbots be called *abbés*?

One of Miss Kelly's main interests is the problem of *amour courtois*. Her chapter dealing with Eleanor's doubtful (if not dubious) relations with the poet Bernard de Ventadour and the account of the Court of Poitiers, over which Eleanor's daughter, Marie de Champagne, reigned as the high priestess of courtly love, are particularly suggestive.

GERALD WALSH

(An authority on medieval history and culture, the Rev. Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., is professor of history at Fordham.)

### Novel of high intelligence

#### GIVE BEAUTY BACK

By Francis X. Connolly. Dutton. 222p. \$2.75

This is a novel which takes for its theme the admonition given in one of Hopkins' poems to give beauty back—"back to God, beauty's self and beauty's

Giver." Chiefly through the eyes of Ted Shaw, a lawyer with average ideals of comfort and security, we follow the development of his friend Ransom Gilby, a painter whose Bohemian life and restless pursuit of truth disturb Ted by their implied reproach of his own more pedestrian aspirations.

A crisis involving a mutual friend estranges Ted and Ransie for a time, but they are reconciled and the locale shifts from New York to New Mexico where Gilby, now a highly successful painter and happy in his conversion to Catholicism, entertains Ted and his wife Grace. They are impressed by the inner peace that faith has given to Ransie, and by the subtle transformation it has wrought in his work. The vision of truth and integrity caught from Ransie is destined to haunt Ted, for his wife is eventually converted to Ransie's faith, whereas Ted, while not converted, can no longer bask at ease with temporal security as his ultimate goal.

Any writer of fiction who undertakes to portray the action of divine grace on a soul is, so to speak, taking his esthetic life in his hands. One of a novelist's primary tasks is the handling of human motivation. The omniscience proper to the novelist in relation to his imaginary creations cannot without serious difficulties be enlarged to encompass the realm of grace and its distri-

bution, as Sylvester's *Dayspring* and Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, for example, attest.

When the argument of the present volume proceeds by suggestion and indirection—as when some Latin Catholics assume that one of Gilby's portraits is of the Madonna and the news comes as a surprise to the painter, who had not consciously intended such an effect—the result is quite persuasive. But when the author allows Gilby to speak explicitly and at length on his Catholic theories of art to a very patient Ted and Grace, and when they receive the doctrine with joy instead of meeting it head-on with ideas of their own, the result is less convincing. Instead of the dialectic of clashing ideas we get a monolog. Again, the description of a New Mexican miracle play is very moving, but there is no intellectual "fight" in Ted and Grace as they witness it. Belloc has observed that "truth comes by conflict," and one feels that the considerable truth implicit in this narrative would have been made more manifest if there had been more conflict.

Despite these limitations, Mr. Connolly has amply demonstrated his ability to tell a good story and to evoke a mood.

PHILLIPS TEMPLE

(Mr. Temple is Librarian of the Riggs Library at Georgetown University.)

## THE REVIVAL OF PAGANISM

by

GUSTAVE COMBES

Translated by Augustine Stock, O.S.B.

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This survey of recent trends, especially those fostered by government, toward the dechristianization of our civilization, focuses attention in particular on Russia, Germany, and France. The book, not mere rhetorical lamentation, presents a factual array of movements directed to the eventual and complete elimination of God from human considerations.

The factors in this development are clearly delineated. For us Americans the most instructive and alarming symptom is the progressive absorption by the state of the total control of education. By enforcing a Godless education, these sinister influences will succeed in educating an entire generation, and thus future generations, in atheism. The result, national paganism, will crown the diabolical efforts of the enemies of God.

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## THE LIMITS AND DIVISIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

By Oscar Halecki. Sheed & Ward. 242p. \$2.50

In this series of brief essays, Professor Halecki of Fordham University presents what he calls "a preliminary outline," examining problems in the "chronological and territorial" divisions of the European past. He asks questions with respect to the nature of the history of Europe, its proper segmentation into periods, its correct geographical boundaries.

In answering the first of these, the author includes four elements which he feels were essential in the constitution of what is known as Europe. He cites the Hellenic tradition of freedom and confederation, the Roman contribution of law and civic virtue, the Christian religion, and finally the diversity of European peoples converted to Christianity. Accepting this description, it is possible to agree with the statement, that "the end of the European Age in history is not necessarily the end of Europe, or of a civilization which, though inseparable from the European heritage, has ceased to be exclusively European." The reader will, however, be able to avoid confusion on this point only if he keeps in mind the distinction here made between "the European Age—that is, the . . . supremacy of the European community," and European historical tradition, which is made to include the nations of the western hemisphere. The former is admitted to be moribund, but the latter still survives.

For those historians who adhere to the traditional division of Western civilization into the ancient, medieval and modern periods, Dr. Halecki's arguments will be treasonable. He contends that these timeworn terms are not only arbitrary but misleading. In their place he would substitute a Mediterranean age which came to an end in the eighth century and a European age which began in the tenth century. The latter, in turn, would be divided into four sections. These would be the later years of what is now known as the Middle Ages (until the fourteenth century), the age of the Renaissance (to the later sixteenth century), and the modern and contemporary eras. This would be a more rational and realistic approach, the author feels, and it would also eliminate the bias against the centuries from the tenth through the fourteenth which is so implicit in the term "Middle" or "Dark" Ages.

This, frankly, is a book for professional historians or for serious students of the subject. Although the jacket denies it to be "an academic contribution to a schematic discussion" and claims for it the virtue of being a "piece of

living historical writing," the result is much more the first than the second. Furthermore, not all historians, particularly American ones, will be able to agree with some of Dr. Halecki's conclusions. In making the United States merely an addendum to European history he does much less than justice to the whole school of writers and thinkers whose intellectual father was Frederick Jackson Turner. His reaffirmation of a belief in "national self-determination" will disturb those who feel that our world could do with a little less of nationalism after the disasters of the last thirty years. H. L. ROFINOT

(Assistant professor of history at Villanova College, Mr. Rofinot is a graduate of Fordham and Columbia.)

## ECONOMICS OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

By Gordon F. Bloom and Herbert R. Northrup. Blakiston. 670p. \$5

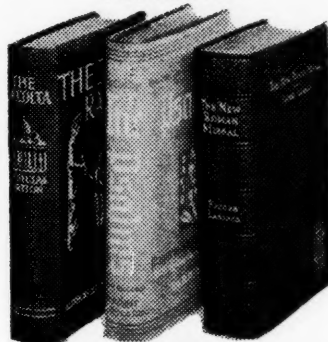
Leaning very heavily on Sumner H. Slichter, and somewhat less heavily on Philip Taft, B. M. Selekman, H. A. Millis and J. T. Dunlop, Messrs. Bloom and Northrup have succeeded in producing a readable and substantial text for rapidly spawning courses in industrial relations. If, for the most part, they profess no great claim to originality, they can at least insist, as their publisher does, that this is the first book which integrates labor problems with economic theory, especially business-cycle analysis. For this reason the text can be used both for beginner courses and for more advanced work. For the same reason, and also because both authors command a lucid prose, it ought to appeal to labor officials, management men, and even a wider public.

In denying to the authors any striking originality, perhaps a distinction ought to be made. None of the facts, for instance, in the chapter on labor history was uncovered by original, sweaty research. Nevertheless, the reader will have to hunt a long time before he finds a better résumé of the history of the American labor movement than the authors have packed into forty pages. Similarly, the pros and cons of seniority are well known. Yet seldom have they been more clearly expressed, or more judiciously weighed, than in this book. In other words, the authors picked and chose in the lush field of labor problems but they did not pick and choose at random. They were guided by their own good judgment, by a spirit of fairness and objectivity, and by what I may call a cultivated sense of the significant. That adds up to originality enough.

Occasionally, the authors' reliance on a single authority for the various topics

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leads them to omit important considerations. One example of this is their treatment of the question, admittedly difficult, of the right to strike against the government. If they had looked around a bit instead of stopping with S. D. Spero, they might have discovered the important distinction between the economic and political functions of government. Certainly a student of industrial relations has a right to know about this distinction.

The discussion of Federal labor legislation is eminently fair, and I imagine that most labor leaders and industrialists would agree with it—in private,

that is. For my part, I should like to say, publicly, that their estimate of the Taft-Hartley Act is basically sound.

All in all, *Economics of Labor and Industrial Relations* is a serviceable textbook—sane, well written and easy to use. If the documentation is on the skimpy side, at least the authors cited are not lightweights. It is a pity, though, that not a single social pronouncement of our major religious groups is anywhere mentioned. Apparently, Messrs. Bloom and Northrup never heard of Leo XII, the Synagogue Council or the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. That

is a startling omission these days when labor leaders and employers are increasingly asking what religion can contribute to a solution of their common problems.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

(*The problems of industrial relations are the prime interests of Fr. Masse, Staff member.*)

#### PHANTOM FORTRESS

By Bruce Lancaster. Atlantic-Little, Brown. 214p. \$3

With the ever-fascinating subject of the Revolutionary War as background, this latest historical novel of Bruce Lancaster's takes its place rightfully with his others as one of erudite research and skilled craftsmanship. Northerners are prone to think of the Revolution in terms of Concord and Valley Forge and Brandywine; this story recalls the highly important locale of the Carolinas as a strategic and bitter battleground.

The story is actually a biographical sketch of Francis Marion, long remembered from history as the "Swamp Fox." But many other notables, such as Nathanael Greene and Lighthorse Harry Lee, are given a sizable share of the limelight. Marion is pictured as a man of remarkable endowment in the matter of mental alertness, ingenuity, martial genius, physical endurance and personal charm. However, he was so unprepossessing as to be mistaken for a stable-boy by the Rhode Islander, Ross Pembroke, upon their first meeting, when the latter found himself attached to the Southern forces. Pembroke, undoubtedly fictional, is the leading romantic male interest in the story element woven in and around technical war maneuvers.

The love story which lightens the descriptions of dreary and desperate war concerns Ross Pembroke and a girl from the island of St. Eusebius in the Dutch West Indies, one Dorande Van Kortenaer, niece of the crafty Tory, French-colonial Paul St. Aubin, who is her current guardian. It is the periodic but too infrequent picking up of the thread of their romance which heightens the interest of the novel to a great extent. Dorande, through her growing love for Ross and her desire to see justice triumph, becomes a helpful ally against the British.

The book is well done: the characters and situations are realistic; suspense elements keep the reader alerted. But there is a suggestion of an overcrowding of developments in the plot at the end. And the chance meeting of persons most desired at the moment is a bit of *deus ex machina*.

*Phantom Fortress* is a tacit testimony to the characteristics which have made

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CATHERINE D. GAUSE

(Mrs. Gause reviews from a background of eighteen years in teaching English.)

### THE SOUL

By St. Thomas Aquinas (trans. John Patrick Rowan). Herder. 291p. \$4

To English-reading students of today interested in the problem of man—his nature, activity and destiny—Professor Rowan's work makes available St. Thomas' thought on the subject as presented in his *Quaestiones disputatae de anima*. His translation, based upon the texts of Marietti, Vivès, and Hédde, offers a faithful reproduction of the doctrine of Aquinas. The translator, a professor of philosophy at De Paul University, has added his own footnotes, most of which perform the valuable service of identifying exactly St. Thomas' numerous references to other authors. The remainder are Professor Rowan's brief clarifications of various passages in the text itself. These are on an elementary level, intended for students acquiring familiarity with St. Thomas. Yet a few of those referring to Plato are deserving of censure for the rather outmoded oversimplification of the Platonic thought which they offer. The value of this translation is increased by the addition of an index.

T. A. MCGOVERN, S.J.

(Mr. McGovern is following his course in theology at Woodstock College.)

### MY CHANGELESS FRIEND

By Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J. Apostleship of Prayer. 2 vols. 603p. \$5

During the past thirty years Father LeBuffe has become ever better known to the readers of devotional literature as the author of nearly thirty booklets, all entitled *My Changeless Friend*. His readers never tired of them and bought more than a million copies. The reason for this success was that they gave their public something to think about in an agreeable form. Father LeBuffe uses a striking text, usually drawn from Holy Scripture, as a springboard. After expounding his lesson in language charged with healthy sentiment, he ends with a prayer which drives home and seals the lesson. These appealing essays are written in various moods but, since their author has long been a familiar of suffering, the mood of encouragement and understanding sympathy prevails. Whatever the cause, Father LeBuffe's devotional writings have probably fed more souls than any other American spiritual work.

Now *My Changeless Friend* appears in two handy volumes which provide meditations for every day of the liturgical year. In this form the meditations will appeal to a wide and varied audience. Priests, seminarians and religious of both sexes and all ages will find in them ample matter for their daily meditations. Lay people will welcome them because they were written for the layman as well as for the cleric, for the housewife as well as for the nun. No transposition will be required. Directors of retreat houses will recommend them unreservedly to earnest Christians who, after having profited by a retreat, desire to take some of its fruitful practices into their daily lives. It seems safe to prophesy, too, that many non-Catholics will be pleased by this message of faith, hope and love.

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

(Fr. Ryan is professor of ecclesiastical history at Woodstock College.)

### MENTAL PRAYER AND MODERN LIFE

A symposium translated by Francis C. Lehner, O.P. Kenedy. 202p. \$2.75

This translation of the symposium on "Prayer," gathered from the pages of the Dominican review, *Vie Spirituelle*, contains seven essays. An extended historical survey of the modes of prayer favored in different ages of the Church precedes chapters on the supernatural equipment employed in praying, the place of methodology in prayer, the use of the liturgy in the layman's prayer life, the Old Testament as a Book of Prayer and an exposition, somewhat inapposite, of "inquiries" based on the New Testament in forming apostolic members of the JICF, the general, feminine section of France's Catholic Action movement for youth.

Two chapters of the symposium are noteworthy: "Making One's Life A Prayer," by J. M. Perrin, O.P. and the essay, "Methods in Prayer," by Robert Rouquette, S.J., of *Etudes*.

For the Christian living in the world, the making a prayer of one's whole life impresses itself as a necessity. Fr. Perrin warns: "They [those 'in the world'] will arrive at the high life of love through this practice or they will fall into mediocrity." Saint Catherine of Siena once retorted to a friend complaining that the pursuit of perfection was impossible because of the overwhelming burden of temporal affairs: "It is you who make them temporal." Father Perrin starts with that perspective.

Father Rouquette was invited to contribute to the symposium because—as he was told—Jesuits "are the specialists in discursive meditation." Father Rouquette wasn't sure the remark was



## IT'S DANGEROUS

to read a garden catalog before trying to write an ad about books—you find yourself wanting to describe Hasley's **REPROACHFULLY YOURS** (\$2.25) as "very gay: free-flowering: produces surprising amount of fruit" and **Father Trese's VESSEL OF CLAY** (\$2) becomes "Entirely new variety of clerical bloom: very satisfactory: often gives wonderful results even in unsuitable soil." **John Farrow's PAGEANT OF THE POPES** (\$4.50): "A vine giving a profusion of flowers of every color and scent: a few somewhat less sweet-smelling than others"—**POVERTY** by **Father Regamey** (\$2.50), "an evergreen, must be planted deep, but once established practically ineradicable." A ridiculous way to go on, but you see the temptation.

Isn't it nice that **Father Trese** and **Mrs. Hasley** are still running away with the sales? They make a wonderful pair, but we would like to see **John Beevers** join them with **STORM OF GLORY** (\$3) and it begins to look as if he would. The chapter on St. Thérèse's novitiate (from material supplied by Pauline) is more startling than anything we ever expected to read about St. Thérèse. (No, not scandalous, just awfully odd.)

Anyone who is still hesitating about buying the **Knox OLD TESTAMENT** (2 vol., each \$5) will find a really good sample of it in the new issue of **Sheed & Ward's OWN TRUMPET**—the centre spread consists of the whole of the **Cantic of Canticles** (he calls it the **Song of Songs**), with decorations by **Jean Charlot**. If you haven't seen it, a word to **Agatha MacGill** will bring it to you, free and postpaid.

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wholly complimentary. He set himself to investigate the inevitable codification by devoted disciples of the original suggestions of all of the great masters of prayer. Healthily and helpfully he clarifies the idea and worth of methods and formulas of praying as essential pedagogical procedures. "By their rigid spiritual geography, they [the codifiers] only want to invite us at the moment of departure by describing for us a model trip, with its numerous stages and multiple joys."

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

(Fr. Duff, Staff member, focuses much of his time and attention on religious affairs.)

## THE WORD

*A woman, when she is in labor, hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but when she hath brought forth the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world.*

The hand of God lifted the moon like a golden lantern above the world. The mysterious light transfigured the face of my wife as we strolled through an

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April evening. Together, we pushed the carriage in which slept our youngest child, bundled in blankets and bathed in soft and silver radiance. My hand moved along the handle of the carriage and rested on Mary's. She smiled at me; and her eyes caught the light and transformed it into a deep and dark and wordless message, addressed to me. "Joe," said the light, "I love you. After all these years, I love you." But she did not speak.

I looked up at the thousand black fingers of the trees which pointed to the luminous sky and to Him who was illumining it. I turned my eyes downward to our child.

We walked on in the pale bright silence.

"Mary."

Her other hand came up and touched mine for a moment. We did not look at each other.

"I suppose you know what I'm thinking."

"I think I can guess, Joe."

"We're happy, aren't we?"

Her answer came like a sigh. "Very."

"And it's worth all that it cost, isn't it?"

"A million times over!"

I looked at her, smiling. "A bargain?"

She turned the ivory oval of her face toward me. The moonlight glowed and undulated in the soft waves of her glossy hair.

"Yes," she said. "A bargain."

My hand tightened for a moment on hers. "The pain, the sleepless nights, the weariness, the fears, the sorrows?"

She nodded. "Yes. Still and forever a bargain."

"Even as it stands. Without anything added. A bargain even here and now, even if everything ended." I looked at the unearthly beauty of the night: "—even if everything ended right this moment?"

Her voice was firm. "Even so."

"Even so, a bargain," I said. "But it won't end now."

"No," she said softly. "Not now. And not ever."

"Never," I said. And presently I repeated the word, lifting my voice slightly in the radiant hush of the moonlit night. "Never!"

The thought struck us silent for a while. Our steps slowed until we were scarcely moving. My wife lifted her hand and leaned for a moment toward the baby. "Forever," she said. Then—"She's beautiful, isn't she? Beautiful in the moonlight."

I felt like baring my head. I spoke slowly. "Some day we'll see her standing tall and shining in the eternal radiance of God. Tall and glorious in the glory of God. And the great angels will shout her name across the corridors of eternity: 'Regina Marie-Therese! Re-

gina Marie-Therese!' And she will come walking into our arms."

My wife moved closer to me in the light of the golden lantern of God; and for a moment my arm stole around her shoulders.

JOSEPH A. BREIC

## THEATRE

WITH A SILK THREAD. It is not easy to guess precisely what Elsa Shelley was driving at when she wrote this inept drama, unless it was to show how in abler hands the subject might have been invested with a measure of dignity and interest. As if to underscore ineptitude, references to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Candida* are woven into the plot, and at one point a character sings a few bars from one of the songs in *South Pacific*. While the author's intention is obscure, what she has achieved is obvious. The production at the Lyceum is a sleazy sex play of the sort that titillates curious adolescents and middle-aged juveniles.

Claire Luce, starred in the leading role, does her best to lend the char-

acter a semblance of dignity and decency, but the part is so feebly written that she is unable to make Miss Shelley's heroine even an interesting trollop. Miss Luce is cast as a bored wife, formerly a distinguished actress, who is persuaded to play *Candida* in a summer theatre, and actually falls in love with the young actor in the role of Marchbanks. She permits him to seduce her, or she seduces him—it is difficult to tell which way it is—and her husband promptly forgives her lapse from virtue.

The thing that baffles this observer is just why the author wrote her lower-case *Candida* with the emphasis on sensual attraction rather than spiritual affinity. Shaw's *Candida* is warm-blooded, while Miss Shelley's duplication is on the frigid side. While Shaw's heroine remains chaste, her imitation becomes an adulteress, and at the same time becomes a less provocative and desirable woman. Sex may be more complicated than Miss Shelley imagines.

Philip Huston, in the role of the wronged husband, Carole Mathews, a young sensualist, and Mary MacLeod, a girl so in love with the theatre that she would be willing to be an usher or floor-sweeper for art, are efficient as the author's most skillfully etched characters. Miss MacLeod is also refresh-

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ing, and rates special mention. Others in the cast, since the author has given them nothing better to do, seem to be just hanging around waiting for pay-day.

Irving Kaye Davis is the producer, and Watson Barratt designed the sets and costumes, the latter doing a re-

spectable job. Miss Shelley's direction is the kind her play deserves. Intramural family conflicts are sound material for drama, and families are too often torn by centrifugal as well as centripetal emotional forces. Miss Shelley's heroine is certainly not the only wife and mother who has been tempted to

violate her marriage vow and has yielded to the temptation she should have resisted. But she weakens the play at a vital point where moral and dramatic values coincide. In her next effort, let us hope, Miss Shelley will provide mature motivation for her leading character.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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## FILMS

THE BIG LIFT is a salute to the American Air Force's contribution to the Berlin Airlift. It is also an attempt to set forth the problems involved in the task of de-nazifying and rehabilitating the German people. In this latter regard the picture advocates a middle way and makes its point in the course of describing the romances of two GIs. One of them (Paul Douglas), whose sojourn in a particularly brutal German prison camp has left him with a "hang all Krauts" philosophy, learns moderation from a spunky and democratically-minded Fraülein. The other (Montgomery Clift), a kindly and unsuspecting youth, is jarred out of his excessive credulity when he discovers that the girl he hoped to marry is an unregenerate product of Nazi education, using him simply as a means of getting to her sweetheart in America. As was probably inevitable, this aspect of the picture seems contrived and over-ingenuous. However, the part dealing with "Operation Vittles" itself is wonderfully vivid and enlightening. Photographed in its actual German locales, it combines the best features of the American semi-documentary and the postwar European "neo-realistic" techniques. The cast, except for a few leading players, is made up of German non-professionals and actual Air Force personnel. Under the inventive direction of George Seaton it does a highly professional job of bringing to life the tragedy, humor and desperate urgency behind the Airlift's seemingly impossible accomplishments. *Adults* should find the picture both entertaining and worthwhile. (20th Century-Fox)

THE DAMNED DON'T CRY is a colossally pretentious and equally absurd gangster melodrama, the point of which seems to be to demonstrate how far an individual can rise, providing he or she has no conscience and no ideal but wealth. By these standards its "heroine" does quite well. She begins by walking out on her squalid existence as the wife of an oil-field laborer. Presently, though, after various rather shady jobs have brought her a few steps up the ladder, she becomes the mistress of a racketeer who operates on a nationwide, big-business scale. To fill this role, she is given the glamor treatment and successfully crashes society, posing as an oil heiress. Having reached this pinnacle of achievement, however, she discovers that her position has serious and even lethal drawbacks, for it is just at this point that the half-dozen leading characters be-

gin in earnest to eliminate one another. The picture gives lip service to the stricture that crime does not pay. Despite this, its construction leaves little doubt that it was intended simply to give Joan Crawford another chance to play a clever, irresistible, suffering and utterly glamorous female. As such it succeeds only in being quite deplorable, both morally and dramatically. (Warner Brothers)

THE GREAT RUPERT. A completely ingenuous tale about a trained squirrel and a miser's hoard, and the nearly miraculous way they combine to make everybody a little happier and a little better, ultimately even the miser himself. It is saved from being too saccharine by Jimmy Durante's marvelously brash and touching performance as the middleman in the distribution of good cheer, and by the mechanical ingenuity of Rupert, the performing squirrel. (Eagle-Lion)

ONE WAY STREET travels much the same road as the above-mentioned atrocity. If it is slightly less ridiculous, this is due not to any inherent merit but only to the fact that it is done on a much smaller scale. Included in the cast of characters are: an unlicensed and fatalistically inclined underworld doctor (James Mason); a particularly vindictive gangster (Dan Duryea) and his sweetheart (Marta Toren) whom the picture describes for entirely insufficient reasons as a fine, high-minded girl who never had a chance. The plot flits from a double-cross over the loot from a \$200,000 hold-up to an idyllic try at regeneration in a primitive Mexican village and back to an atmosphere of gang violence for a surprise ending which was evidently intended to be profoundly ironic. Instead, it turns out to be, like the rest of the picture, quite profoundly bogus. (Universal-International)

MOIRA WALSH

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Unused lamps

EDITOR: Mr. Sheehan's recent article ("It's  
easier to carp than to cooperate," AM.  
3/18) provoked certain reactions which I  
would like to communicate to you.

It is unquestionably true that layfolk are  
hopelessly slothful in making known their  
faith, slothful in cooperating with the spe-  
cial graces prompting us to teach and in-  
struct others in the knowledge of our great-  
est gift, that of faith. Their slothfulness  
and their constant carping against the  
clergy are, in many instances, not uncon-  
nected phenomena.

Working on the personal level, neighbor-  
to-neighbor, is always possible. Yet, when  
a well-trained lay person is able to talk,  
instruct others in matters of the faith (even  
when the audience is entirely Catholic),  
his knowledge is considered suspect by the  
overwhelming majority of the clergy.

We insist that our children attend paro-  
chial schools from the grades through high  
school. We also exhort sons and daughters  
to attend a Catholic college. This means  
sixteen years of training in which the pri-  
mary stress is Catholic.

Now, when a graduate returns to his  
native parish after this amount of Catholic  
training, his knowledge ought to be fairly  
exact and trustworthy. Yet, year after year,  
some of our most gifted young minds are  
met at the Catholic rectory, to which many  
of them go in great faith and enthusiasm,  
with an offer of the job of bingo attendant,  
or manager of the rummage sales.

Special knowledge ought to be used; and  
specialized Catholic training by lay people  
in their faith ought to be used on the  
parochial and organizational level as well  
as on the personal level.

Nazareth, Mich. GEORGE J. MCMORROW

### Justice for expellees

EDITOR: Your editorial, "Status of DP  
legislation," in the March 18 issue of  
AMERICA refers to the Kilgore substitute  
bill as removing "previous restrictions con-  
nected with ethnic origin."

It indicates that the allocation of "half  
of our regular accumulated German immi-  
gration quota to Volksdeutsche" would be  
the way in which such restrictions would  
be removed.

Further on you say that the substitute  
bill is backed by Catholic, Protestant and  
Jewish agencies that have sponsored 87  
per cent of the 100,000 DP's already in  
the United States.

It is regrettable that no mention is made  
whatsoever of the McCarran Committee  
Bill, which, I think you will find, does  
more than give a "halved German quota"  
to the expellees (Volksdeutsche). It does

the really fair thing and grants them equal  
immigration rights with DP's, thus elim-  
inating altogether—not just partially—the  
"ethnic discrimination" of previous DP  
measures.

The fact that the Kilgore substitute bill  
is backed by the resettlement groups does  
not prove that it is the fairest legislation.  
After all, America did not cause the DP's  
to be displaced, yet she shows them prefer-  
ential treatment. And paradoxically, al-  
though she *did* help to make the expellees  
homeless (by signing the Potsdam Agree-  
ment which sanctioned their transfer), she  
wants to give them merely a compromise  
grant of a halved German quota instead of  
full rights to the quotas of the countries  
from which they were expelled.

My opinion is based on nearly three  
years of work with DP's in postwar Austria  
and Germany. I have confidence that  
AMERICA will live up to its fair name and  
high standards and do justice by those our  
country caused to be made homeless.

Philadelphia, Pa. MARY P. CAMPION

(Senator McCarran's proposals were, in-  
deed, enormously more generous to German  
expellees. The topic before Congress, how-  
ever, was legislation for Displaced Persons  
—for whose fate America made a commit-  
ment in helping form the International  
Refugee Organization. The agonizing prob-  
lem of the German expellees continues. It  
must be dealt with (AM. 4/22)—separately.  
—EDITOR.)

### Unfortunate phrases

EDITOR: The abuse of the Bible among  
semi-illiterate Protestants in rural America  
is indeed appalling. But I do not like to  
see your writers use the term "Bible Belt,"  
as they have from time to time recently,  
thereby imitating H. L. Mencken at his  
worst. Would you consider it fair for Mid-  
dle-Western Protestants to call some more  
Catholic part of the country the "One, holy,  
Catholic and Apostolic Belt"?

Chicago, Ill.

PEDRO VALVERDE

### Contemporary art

EDITOR: Congratulations on your editorial,  
"Church Art and Modern Art" (AM. 3/4).  
One seldom sees such defense of the con-  
temporary artist and his work in the Cath-  
olic press. It is a cause for rejoicing to  
see it in such an influential and widely  
read organ as AMERICA. You have rendered  
a service to those of us in the arts who are  
trying to improve, through education and  
practice, the quality of the Christian art of  
our time.

CLARE FONTANINI

Head, Art Dept.  
Catholic University of America  
Washington, D. C.